# ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE CENTER OF TARSUS AND THE NEED TO PROTECT AND PRESENT THEM TO THE PUBLIC

*Zeynep Ahunbay*
*Istanbul Technical University, Turkey*

TARSUS is a historic town on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, situated between two metropolitan centers: Adana and Mersin. In modern times, it has grown from a small commercial town to an industrial center with a population of 300,000. With its fertile agricultural hinterland, Tarsus is a lively center for production of wheat, cotton, olive and citrus fruits. Several industrial plants are active in the region. The cultural and architectural traditions of Tarsus are closely connected with those of the neighboring eastern Mediterranean countries.

The region underwent serious changes after the World War I and the physical appearance and demographic structure of the town was further transformed in the second half of the twentieth century. Many people from the neighboring villages and the wider area of southeast Turkey moved to Tarsus in search of work and eventually settled there permanently. This influx of poor rural people has created an area of squatter housing around the historic center of Tarsus. The urban texture of the historic city was further damaged by the widening of old streets and construction of high-rise apartment blocks in place of two storey houses with gardens. The recent agricultural and industrial activity nurtured a flourishing economy in Tarsus until recent price cuts for agricultural goods caused the textile industry to shrink, leading to serious financial problems for the local population.

## Archaeological/Historical Significance of the Site

The foundation of the city of Tarsus goes back to prehistoric times. The Gözlükule mound, which is located to the southwest of the old town, has revealed interesting finds related to the Iron Age settlement in the area. The Hellenistic and Roman city, on the other hand, developed on the plain to the north and northeast of the Gözlükule mound. In ancient times, the strategic and commercial importance of Tarsus was linked to its proximity to the major pass in the Taurus range, called the "Cilician Gate," which provided access to Central Anatolian plain from the

Mediterranean coast. The Romans had established political and economic control over the southern coast of Anatolia by the first century A.D., making the region a Roman province in 74 A.D. Roman coins minted in the city bear a mark PMK, signifying that the city was "the first, the biggest and the most beautiful." The River Cydnus, which passed through the city, flooded its surroundings especially in spring, leaving alluvial deposits. This caused a considerable accumulation in the plain during succeeding centuries. The Roman level is about 3-5 meters below the present level of the city.

The Romans were well known for their monumental, religious and public buildings as well as engineering works. However, not much is visible from the Roman era above ground except for the gigantic ruin of a temple dedicated to a local god, a city gate, a Roman bath and elements of a water conveyance system.

Figure 1. Ancient road discovered in the center of the historic city of Tarsus, Turkey.

Due to wars, intensive settlement and rebuilding over the same site in later periods, the early Christian and Medieval periods of the town are represented only by a few traces. During the Byzantine period, Emperor Justinian ordered the regulation of the river Cydnus to control the flooding. The river bed was diverted and a bridge which still stands was constructed over it. Being the birthplace of St. Paul is an important fact in relating Tarsus to Christianity. There is a late Ottoman church which bears the name of the apostle and the locals associate the remains of an unidentified bath, a house and a well with him. The site draws many tourists.

From the Islamic period in the region, a Friday mosque, a sixteenth century *madrasa* and a covered bazaar are significant. The historic town has a good collection of traditional houses, most of which date to the nineteenth century. The hot climate and the agricultural activities of the families influenced the design of the houses. For reasons of privacy, the spacious courtyards were surrounded by high walls. The ground floors were reserved for cooking and storage of agricultural goods. The spacious upper floors were used as the living quarters.

Timber from the nearby forests was used for the construction of jetties, loggias, cabinets and ceilings. Local masons concentrated their art on gateways and jetties, contributing to the cityscape with elegant details. The historic center of Tarsus with its narrow streets surrounded by two or three storey stone houses was designated as an urban historic site and put under State protection in 1977. In 1986, the city administration invited Istanbul Technical University (ITU) to develop a conservation plan for the urban and archaeological sites in the town. With limited number of ancient structures still standing it was not possible to reconstitute the major features of the Roman city. There was no doubt that excavations within the his-toric core had the potential to reveal archaeological remains. Thus, the Conservation Plan developed by the ITU team defined the measures of protection for the archaeological and urban areas, stressing the fact that new structures with basements and deep foundations should not be permitted in the historic center.

This was underlined as a measure to prevent the destruction of the surviving archaeological remains underneath the present buildings. Yet, the Municipality of Tarsus was eager to build new facilities for the citizens. The center of Tarsus is very lively and crowded. The commercial activity attracts a lot of traffic into the center and there is need for more car parking. In 1993, the Municipality of Tarsus decided to build a multistorey underground car park in the center of the town at a site close to the municipality building. Shortly after starting the excavations for the foundations of the parking facility, some archaeological remains were encountered. The local museum intervened and the construction of the car park

had to be suspended due to the size and importance of the finds. At a depth of five meters an ancient road lying in the north-south direction was revealed. Systematic archaeological excavations started in 1994 under the supervision of Prof. Dr. L. Zoroğlu. The ancient road is seven meters wide and the part which could be excavated is 67 meters long (fig. 1). On the north side of the road, a colonnade with shops was revealed. Prof. Dr. L. Zoroğlu dates the road to the Hellenistic period, roughly to the 1st century B.C. He claims that it was the *decumanus*, one of the main roads of the city leading from one entrance gate to the other. The colonnade is a later addition to the road, probably from the first century A.D. The Roman level was superseded by interventions in the Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The discovery of an ancient road with remains of a colonnaded street on its northern side has brought the long history of the town to public attention and its preservation and presentation has become an issue of major importance.

## Responsibles, Partners, Budget, Funding Sources

According to Turkish law on conservation of cultural property, the responsibility for protecting archaeological sites is the duty of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Since the site is within the city and the land is the property of the city administration, the situation is more complex than at an archaeological site that is located in the countryside. At the beginning of the excavations, the Municipality of Tarsus could not provide the financial support necessary to carry out the documentation, conservation and presentation of the finds. During the 1990's a local textile firm, Berdan, sponsored the excavations and the documentation work. The site attracted many visitors from the local population, as well as foreign tourists and one of the yearly meetings of archaeologists was held in Tarsus. Most of the site was investigated before the excavations stopped in 2003, due lack of support from the Berdan firm, owing to its own economic situation.

The municipality of Tarsus now intends to lead the efforts necessary to complete the documentation and support the maintenance and proper presentation of the site. The municipality is a member of the Turkish Historic Cities Association and intends to find support for conservation efforts. Consolidation of the architectural elements, stabilization and pointing of Medieval walls, and the construction of retaining walls around the site are measures which are urgently needed. Since the excavation site is like a deep crater in the center of the town with high earthen walls, there is risk of collapse and undermining of the roads surrounding the site (fig. 2). As a precaution against unexpected accidents, the

municipality has stopped vehicular traffic on the roads bordering the eastern and northern sides of the archaeological site.

Figure 2. General view of the excavated area in the center of Tarsus with the main road and walls dating from different levels of habitation.

## Heritage Challenge that the Project Represents

The ancient road is a spectacular element within the city and to visit it is a great experience. One descends from the street level down to the first century; it is an extraordinary phenomenon to delve into the history of a busy town. The ancient road is built with basalt blocks which are arranged in a cyclopean pattern. It looks quite robust with its well preserved solid masonry, but the elements of the colonnade on the eastern side that are made of limestone are not in very good condition. The walls from the upper levels were not built with firm foundations; their binding mortar is gone in most cases. Heavy rains combined with the south wind are common in Tarsus; they have been washing away the remaining mortar of the walls since their exposure to the elements. The presentation of the site with the road as its central element and the surrounding structures like the colonnade and the different layers of habitation have to be carefully handled due to the fragility of the upper levels. The complexity of the site can be explained to the visitor by

the introduction of pedestrian walkways suspended on wooden piles, permitting visibility without disturbance of delicate details.

## Solution of Unresolved Problems Represented by the Site

The present mayor of Tarsus, Mr. Kocabaş, is concerned with the future of the sensitive ruins in the archaeological site. As mentioned above, the opening of the site has created a large depression in the center of the town. The fragile materials are deteriorating with the scorching sun and rain showers. He proposes to cover the site in such a way that the ruins will be protected by a roof, the top of which could also be used as a public square. He developed this project after a visit to Israel, where he saw an archaeological site (probably the *Cardo Maximus* in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem), which is protected under the modern street level. The colonnaded street in Jerusalem dates from Emperor Justinian's time. In the course of about 1400 years, about six meters of debris has accumulated above the ancient street. The protection of the colonnaded street under the modern settlement seemed like a good solution to the mayor of Tarsus, and he came up with this proposal. To present an ancient site in broad daylight is a good way to relate the modern city to its long past, so the covering of the excavation site does not seem like a good solution to us. Yet all the proposals related to the preservation of the site need to be submitted to the regional Monument Board in Adana, which is composed of archaeologists, architects and urban planners. The Board expects the involvement of qualified conservation experts in the development of the conservation proposals. The project alternatives need to be assessed carefully and proper measures which will lead to long term preservation should be selected.

# MULTICULTURAL PERCEPTION OF A HERITAGE SITE: THE LEUVEN GROOT BEGIJNHOF

*Francesca Puccio*
*Faculty of Mons and Lemaire Centre for Conservation, Belgium*

THE following case study constituted part of the author's final thesis research "Heritage Significance and Interpretation: a Multicultural Perspective" at the Raymond Lemaire Centre for Conservation. Starting from the assumption that understanding heritage can foster its preservation, the research tried to reflect upon the implications of cultural differences on heritage conservation practice. Furthermore it attempted to investigate how cultural significance could be communicated effectively taking into account multicultural perspectives. This implied understanding how meanings and values are influenced by cultural features. The aim and challenge of the case study was to reflect upon the variations of perception linked to different cultural backgrounds and to draw considerations on how heritage interpretation should deal with the variety of views of a multicultural public.

The case study was performed in the framework of Prof. Christian Ost's course "Economic Dimension of the Architectural Heritage" during the Academic Year 2004/2005. The participants in the case study were twenty students of eight different nationalities and seven different educational backgrounds and constituted a small multicultural sample group. The students were asked to assess values linked to a specific site using the definitions and value typology (Mason 2002: 11-2) of the Getty Conservation Institute Research on the Values of Heritage (1998-2005):

> *Sociocultural Values:* are the traditional core of conservation-values attached to an object, building or place because it holds meaning for people or social groups due to its age, beauty, artistry or association with a significant person or event or (otherwise) contributes to processes of cultural affiliation.
>
> *Economic Values:* economic valuation is one of the most powerful ways in which society identifies, assesses, and decides on the relative values of things. [...] Economic values overlap a great deal with the sociocultural

> values (historical, social, aesthetic and so on) described above, and they are distinguished most because they are measured by economic analysis. In other words, economic values are different because they are conceptualized in a fundamentally different way [...].

## Site Description and Background Information

The site on which the exercise was conducted is the Leuven Groot Begijnhof. As stated on the UNESCO World Heritage Centre internet site, Flemish *béguinages* are "architectural ensembles composed of houses, churches, ancillary buildings and green spaces, with a layout of either urban or rural origin and built in styles specific to the Flemish cultural region. They are a fascinating reminder of the tradition of the *Béguines* that developed in north-western Europe in the Middle Ages." Their inhabitants, the *Béguines* "were women who dedicated their lives to God without retiring from the world. In the 13th century they founded the *béguinages*, enclosed communities designed to meet their spiritual and material needs." (UNESCO 2007)

The particular study site had the quality of being particularly interesting in terms of evolution of its cultural significance throughout the years. It escaped in fact demolition in the early 1960s thanks to a renewed interest for its particular urban/living space. Acquired by the *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven* in 1962, it was restored during the following ten years by Professor R. Lemaire and transformed into students' and guest scholars' accommodation. R. Lemaire described his underlying restoration principles as follows:

> *The idea is that we also teach our students how to live in tune with this environment. We have somehow lost the art of dwelling appropriately. Flemish farmers used to know how to inhabit a place, but this skill is disappearing. In each béguinage apartment we try to combine what is practical with what is pleasing. [...] The restoration is worth the money spent on it; one meets the strong demand for more housing facilities, and at the same time one preserves a historical site. Later generation are shown how early ones used to build. (Uytterhoeven 2000: 21-2)*

The Leuven Groot Begijnhof was inscribed in 1998 on the World Heritage List, together with twelve other Flemish *béguinages*. Currently it mostly provides temporary accommodation for part of the university community, specifically for visiting professors, senior fellows and visiting scholars.

## Methodology

As mentioned above, the methodology proposed for this study was of the Getty Conservation Institute Research on Values (1998-2005) whose main steps are summarized by Mason (2000: 7):

1. Identification of values
2. Elicitation and Elaboration
3. Statement of Significance
4. Integration of Assessments and establishing policy

Students were asked to work both individually and in groups as illustrated in the following table. Successively, each group discussed the findings with Prof. Ost and the author of this paper.

| ***Assesment Step*** | ***Assesment Method*** | ***Assesment*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Identification of all values | *Information/Personal Assessment* | *Individual* |
| 2.1 Description and elicitation (Sociocultural) | *Questionnaire* | *Individual* |
| 2.2 Description and elicitation (Economic) | *Questionnaire and economic tools* | *Group* |
| 3. Integration and ranking | *Group Discussion* | *Group* |

## Key Findings and Considerations

***Limits***. Before analysing the results it is important to point out some of the limits of this exercise. The first is the choice of a sample group composed by students in conservation. If on one hand this is interesting for the familiarity with certain issues and from the multicultural perspective, on the other it provides a restricted and specific view on the topic. Secondly, the assessment of both sociocultural and economic values requires full knowledge of the relevant tools and techniques and should ideally be performed by specialists. A similar consideration applies to the preparation of the survey and the analysis of the data.

***Results***. The results, although reflecting a very limited survey, highlighted interesting considerations.The variation of perception was not expressed through different impressions but through different interpretations of a similar impression of phenomenon. People with different cultural background explained the reasons behind phenomena according to their references. For example, quietness was seen

as a factor indicating little social cohesion for cultures with a strong collective orientation. On the contrary it was read as a positive factor and associated to spirituality in cultures in which social relationships are less visible. Some students went beyond the description of their first impression and advanced the hypothesis that calmness didn't reflect at all the spirit of the place (as most of the students agreed upon) but a 'staged atmosphere' which suited contemporary tastes.

Another interesting observation was the way values were translated differently according to one's own cultural references. This was particularly evident when speaking about spiritual, religious and social values, all corresponding to different definitions depending on the person and its cultural background. Finally the need of explaining cultural significance in order to better understand heritage was generally felt. Most of the students agreed that understanding the site was difficult if no information was provided. The proposals for valorisation (adding value) were different and in some cases reflected the cultural orientation.

Figure 1. The Leuven Groot Begijnhof.

## Conclusion

With these findings in mind, how can heritage interpretation take into account the different perspectives related to different cultural background?

The first recommendation would be for heritage specialists to challenge their own point of view and go beyond the first impression in order to provide different readings of a same phenomenon. This would also satisfy certain audiences, such as the one of the case study, eager to fully understand the site and to draw their own conclusions.

The second recommendation regards the assumption that definitions are the same for everyone. In line with linguistic relativism, the case study showed how a same word could mean different concepts in different cultures. Although learning about each specific culture and its values is not possible, being aware of how cultural diversity expresses itself can help to avoid misunderstandings.

Finally, heritage interpretation means communicating cultural significance and this can go through different actions. As a general consideration, understanding which values have the most importance for a specific culture, how they are defined and through which means or action they can be better transmitted can result in a more effective interpretation.

## References

AVRAMI E., DE LA TORRE M. & MASON R. 2000. *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*, The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

DE LA TORRE M. (ed) 2002. *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*, The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

MASON R. (ed) 1999. *Economics and Heritage Conservation*: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute, December 1998, The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

MASON R. 2002. Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices, In: de la Torre M. (ed), *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*, The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, 5-30.

OST C. 1999. *Economics of Historic Preservation*, Raymond Lemaire International Center for Conservation, Leuven (unpublished).

PUCCIO F. 2005. *Heritage Significance and Interpretation: a Multicultural Perspective*, Advanced Studies Master in Conservation of Monuments and Sites Thesis, Raymond Lemaire International Center for Conservation, Leuven (unpublished).

UNESCO World Heritage List 2007. <whc.unesco.org/en/list/855>.
UYTTERHOEVEN R. 2000. *The Groot Begijnhof of Leuven*, Leuven University Press, Leuven.

# ÁVILA: SEEKING THE MANAGEMENT OF A CITY

***Mercedes Farjas, Alicia Castillo***
*Universidad Politécnica of Madrid, Spain*

***Julio Zancajo, Teresa Mostaza***
*University of Salamanca, Escuela Politécnica Superior de Ávila, Spain*

***Radim Balik***
*University of Madrid (ERASMUS Program - University of Prague). de Ávila, Spain*

THE city of Ávila was inscribed on the World Heritage List by UNESCO in 1985. It is a city of about 50,000 inhabitants located 115 km from Madrid, Spain (fig. 1). Ávila belongs to Comunidad de Castilla y León. Its elevation of 1126 m above the sea level is the cause of a special geographical situation that influences in many ways the natural features as well as the cultural andartistical ones.

Figure 1. Ávila Location. [1]

The city of Ávila is the best example of a fortified city of medieval Spain (fig. 2). Its many churches, monasteries, monumental buildings and narrow and sinuous alleys Illustrate life in the medieval Iberian Peninsula in an especially vivid way.

The first inhabitants in the area were of Celtic origin. They arrived at the end of 7th century BC, finding the place, elevated on a high rock and near to a river, very suitable for strategic reasons because it allowed them to defend themselves and carry on their herdsmanship. They left a great number of remains in Ávila as well as in its neighbourhood. Notable are the depictions of swine, zoomorphic sculptures, the divinities whose real connotation we do not know (figs. 3a, 3b).

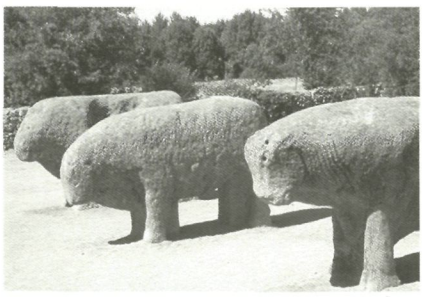
In 237 B.C., the Romans established a military camp at the location of the present city and forced the inhabitants to leave the area so as to avoid conflicts.

Figure 2. Ávila city.[2]

The Romans built what is now recognized as the groundplan of contemporary Ávila. As an example of the remains we can mention many ceramic items and inscriptions that were used in the construction of the medieval city walls.

Ávila achieved its period of prosperity – as did Castilla as a whole – after the unification and under rule of the Catholic Monarchs, although it experienced the difficult consequences of various political decision like the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 that was of great demographic and economic importance for the city. During the 16th century, Ávila was the scene of the birth, education, conversion and literary and reform work of St. Juan de la Cruz.

In the subsequent centuries, slow industrialization and the persistence of traditional services have helped the city maintain its individuality and beauty. As mentioned, Ávila was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985.



Figures 3a & 3b. Celtic Remains.[3]

## Cultural Heritage

It is not possible to speak about Ávila without mentioning its immense and varied artistic heritage. To introduce a brief description, we will highlight two points related to its inventory:

- the quantity and the heterogeneity that has been mentioned before and that is fundamental for the construction of the spatial data base;
- the need for the use of systems capable of storing and managing data from very diverse sources and in various formats to create an appropriate documentation of the heritage resources.

This site is an architectonical heritage element; we can highlight these items:

1. The City Walls of Ávila
2. Teresian Route
3. The Cathedral
4. Romanesque Churches
5. Palatial Houses

***The City Walls of Ávila.*** The Ávila Wall is a distinctive symbol of the city. It is possible to walk on it or pass through it in all directions through arches (fig. 4). The city walls, in addition to serving for defense, represented an active and important factor of the city´s urban development and of the configuration of inhabitants of various social levels in the frame of the city (e.g. craftsmen, nobles, religious orders, Jews, Moors, gardeners). The portal of Alcázar and the Puerta de San Vicente, the Cimorro, the apse of the Cathedral and the palaces are the fundamental elements of the city walls.

Figures 4a[2] & 4b[4]. The City Walls of Ávila

The history of the construction of the city walls is not known exactly. According to later chronicles as well as the local tradition, the construction started at the end of 11th century. However, it is hard to believe that with such a small population, limited economy, and political instability, that the city could have initiated the construction of a wall 2516 meters long, 3 meters wide and 12 meters tall with 88 turrets.

***Teresian Route***. The Theresian Route includes the most important places and events related to the life of St. Teresa de Jesús. She was a great figure among the mystics in Ávila and left a deep impression, leading to a continuing pilgrimage to places of special significance in her life. The modern touristic route connecting these places begins at the Convento de Santa Teresa. Forming a square with the convent, there is the Palacio de Núñez Vela, the first viceroy of Perú. The Monasterio de la Encarnación is undoubtedly (along with the Convento de San José) one of the most emblematic Teresian places of Ávila.

***The Cathedral***. The cathedral is an example of a religious and military building (fig. 5). The construction of the cathedral of St. Salvator started in 1091. It is a cathedral combined with a stronghold, featuring castellated walls with loopholes and watch passages. It represents the first Gothic building in the region of Castilla y León. It corresponds with the origins of this new style in the Peninsula and the movement from the Romanesque style toward the Gothic. The building was constructed from 12th to 14th century, with many later additions and reconstructions.

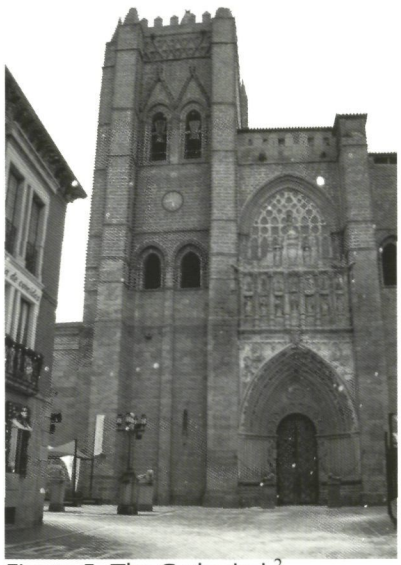


Figure 5. The Cathedral.[2]

***Romanesque Churches***. Besides the city walls, construction of more than twenty religious building (fig. 6) was necessary; the life of the new city was organized around these new parish churches, convents and hermitages. These building were constructed in the late Romanesque style. Generally, sculpture complements architecture having a decorative and moral function. In the interior, the decoration is concentrated on column capitals whereas its main and largest part is present in the exterior of the portals. That is the case with the Churches of San Pedro, Sto. Tomé Viejo, San Andrés, San Martín, Ntra. Sra. De la Cabeza, San Segundo, San Nicolás and San Vicente.

Figure 6. Romanic Churche.[2]

***Palatial Houses***. These constitute one of Ávila's greatest architectural treasures (fig. 7). The nobles used to buy small houses and gradually add the neighbouring buildings into a single complex. In 16th century, the habit of organizing them in a clear typology occurred: the buildings are extended horizontally and have two floors. They are moderate and little decorated, but their columns and heraldic symbols are worthy of admiration. Palatial houses include Casa de los Deanes, the Bracamonte Palast, Don Nuño Vela Palast, Don Juan de Henao House, and the Marqués de Velada Palast.

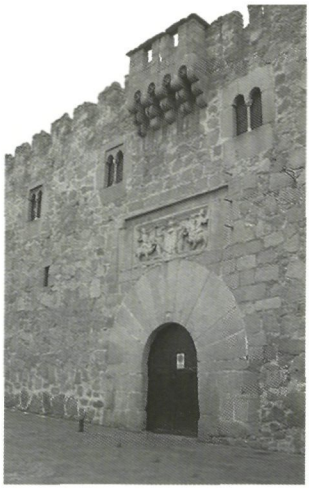



Figure 7a & 7b. Palatial Houses.[4]

## Documentation and Management of Heritage

The volume of information related to the heritage of Ávila province is very extensive and of particular complexity. The richness of the heritage and the history is complemented by other cultural aspects concerning celebrations, gastronomy and other events of a great touristic interest such as Easter (fig. 8).

The project will aim to create a documentation framework for all the heritage information using a system serving for an easy access to a spatial data basis, linking the cultural heritage with spatial information (orthophotos, cartography of various scales etc.). The system will offer an access to all the heritage information, linking the inventory of the monuments with 3D views, not only for researchers but also to the public interested in the city such as tourists.

The objective is to incorporate the heritage information of the city of Ávila, including the most relevant data and creating elements such as interactive visualizations and virtual tours in addition to the cultural and technical information needed for municipal management. It is meant to be a unique platform through which diferent kinds of access and integrated management of the documentation will be facilitated.

A spatial database will integrate various cartographic products such as 1:5 000 ortho-photo or 1:1000/1:500 maps. To represent the monuments, various symbolic systems will be created, linking them with alphanumeric information and all other elements such as interactive visualizations and images and virtual tours. The project will also feature an intuitive interface, offering the access to

users of all kinds from specialists in the field of landscape planning to tourists planning their visit of the city.

Two main topics remain to be worked on:

1) How to inventorize data concerning such an extent and heterogeneous heritage. To realize this task, many techniques of data acquisition have to be used. The range extends from gathering information from literary sources and other descriptive material to 3D modeling. For the last mentioned technique, photogrammetric methods are relevant, including traditional ones as well as the recent use of high-precision equipment such as 3D laser scanner that performs 3D modeling of the target object by means of systematic scanning.

2) How to manage data that is not only very extensive but also very heterogeneous, both in methods of acquisition and in its storage. For integration of such data and its management, an adequate structure of the spatial database is necessary; not only modeling of single objects is needed, but also their placement in the position where they are located. The task therefore is to document the objects and locate them properly, allowing an integral management of the information not only for studying or conserving purposes but also for visualization and maintenance.

Figure 8. Easter Parade.[2]

For a city like Ávila, public presentation is essential for its social and economical development: a relevant part of its fortune comes from tourism. However, tourism must be treated according to the politics of sustainable development. This spatial management also supposes structuration of different cartographical products integrated to the spatial data base. This complicates an important aspect of data management, namely the access to information. It is necessary to create systems that allow personal access to the spatial data base with interfaces programmed for automating maximum of management tasks.

The central points to be worked on are the following:

- Integration of the spatial data defining the area given (i.e. cartographic products of various kinds). The problem consists in integration of cartographic documents stored using various resolutions or formats (from vector files to high-resolution raster satellite images that allow to upgrade and actualize the description of the area).

- Adequate ways of documentation of the heritage according to its elements including methods of data acquisition from various documents and its integration to the spatial data base. To integrate this documentation into the data base, corresponding techniques of georeferencing are necessary.

Study of the needs of access and data management and creation of interface(s) allowing to adapt the system for users of all kinds. In the case of Ávila, integration of cartographic resources has been performed, to show as examples the project management possibilities: BCN200 and BCN25 by *Instituto Geográfico Nacional* (Ministerio de Fomento) that corresponds to 1/200.000 local mapping and 1/25.000; ortophotos 1/10.000 and 1/5.000 by of the *Comunidad Autónoma de Castilla y León*; cartographic work 1/10.000 by *Junta de Castilla y León.*

Along with the spatial data mentioned above, statistical data from *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* was integrated. The data management interface already integrated in the system allows to obtain in a simple way these representations and therefore to manage data sources of various kinds, not requiring the users to be experts.

In the final phase, incorporation of heritage documentation to a system is to be performed. For this goal, the data characteristics are studied, which aims to obtain an appropriate methodology of documentation and data processing

procedures that would allow better representation of heritage elements and their management in the framework of the spatial data base.

## References

AJO GONZÁLEZ DE RAPARIEGOS y SÁINZ DE ZÚNIGA, C.M. 1991. *Historia de Ávila y su tierra de sus hombres y sus instituciones por toda su geografía provincial y diocesana. Tomo III, Fuentes manuscritas, antigua documentación del Obispado en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Ascético-Místicos, Histórico-Bíblicos y Literarios, Ávila.

AJO GONZÁLEZ DE RAPARIEGOS y SÁINZ DE ZÚNIGA, C.M. 1992. *Historia de Ávila y su tierra de sus hombres y sus instituciones por toda su geografía provincial y diocesana. Tomo IV, Fuentes manuscritas, antigua documentación del Obispado en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Ascético-Místicos, Histórico-Bíblicos y Literarios, Ávila.

ÁLVAREZ-SANCHÍS J. 2005. *Verracos: esculturas zoomorfas en la provincia de Ávila*. Diputación Provincial de Ávila, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, Ávila.

BARRIOS A. & TROITINO VINUESA M.A. 2000. *Historia de Ávila, 2, Edad Media (Siglos VIII-XIII)*, Institución "Gran Duque de Alba", Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros, Ávila.

CARRAMOLINO J. M. 1872. *Historia de Ávila, su provincia y obispado*, Librería Española, Madrid.

GONZÁLES GONZÁLES I. 1992. *Ávila en su sentir* (Semana Santa Abulense), Marcam, Ávila.

HERAS HERNÁNDEZ F. 1994. *Semana Santa de Ávila. Estudio Histórico*, Junta de Semana Santa de Ávila con la colaboración del Excmo, Ayuntamiento de Ávila y Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, Ávila.

HERBOSA V. 2000. *El románico en Ávila*, Lancia, D.L., León.

LÓPEZ FERNÁNDEZ M.I. 2002. *Guía de la arquitectura civil del siglo XVI en Ávila*, Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa, Ávila.

MARINÉ M. (coor) 1995. *Historia de Ávila, 1, Prehistoria e Historia antigua*, Institución "Gran Duque de Alba". Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros, Ávila.

MOURE ROMANILLO A., DE LA PLAZA SANTIAGO A. & MARCHAN FÍZ S. (dir) 1994. *Historia del arte de Castilla y León. Vol. 1, Prehistoria, edad antigua y arte prerrománico*, Junta de Castilla y León, Ámbito, D.L., Valladolid.

SABE ANDREU A.M. 2000. *Las Cofradías de Ávila en la Edad Moderna*,

Institución "Gran Duque de Alba" de la Diputación Provincial, Ávila.
VVAA 2004. *Las edades del hombre: testigos,* Santa Apostólica Iglesia Catedral, Ávila, (mayo a noviembre de 2004), Exposición realizada por la Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, Con el patrocinio de la Junta de Castilla y León y la colaboración de Fundación Telefónica, Fundación "Las Edades del Hombre", Valladolid.

## Picture's Credits

1 José Julio Zancajo Jimeno. 2006
2 Julio César Martín Caballero - <www.julio-cesar.es> - Ávila
3 <www.diputacionavila.es>
4 <www.avilaturismo.com>

# SHARING IN SITU: THE NORTH SHELTER IN ÇATALHÖYÜK, TURKEY

*Maria T. Rico*
*Getty Conservation Institute*

*Michael Ashley*
*University of California, Berkeley*

OVER 7,000 people visit the site of Çatalhöyük each year. As part of the overall site management plan to provide meaningful experiences for the visiting public and international researchers, the fully excavated Building 5 has been on public display since 1999 under a shelter specifically designed to allow visitor access and essential protection for the plaster walls. The challenge for site management and conservators is to balance the desire to share this exceptional heritage with the interested public and the ongoing stewardship and conservation of the building, when sharing could mean increasing the rate of deterioration. The challenge for the public is to look beyond the snapshot that is presented as archaeological remains, to balance the variety of interpretations offered, and to create their own interpretation. There is also an opportunity to engage in dialog with local residents who visit this shared place as we conduct our work, our chance to share concepts of stewardship and preservation. This paper discusses ideas of sharing and "multivisuality" as a way to breach the gap between "professional" and "public" access to the site.

## The Place

Çatalhöyük, a large Neolithic tell located near Konya, Turkey, is currently excavated by a large international team under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara and the direction of Ian Hodder representing Cambridge and Stanford Universities. The 9,000-year-old site is world renowned for its exceptional architecture, painted walls and complex building structures. Every season, as many as 100 team researchers, archaeologists and staff may live at the site, including workers from local villages and international participants (Ashley 2004).

Core to the mission of the Çatalhöyük Research Project site management plan is the involvement of local communities as partners in the protection and interpretation of the site and its surroundings. Although the shelter protects the mud brick walls from the effects of the weather, the ideal preservation strategy is reburial and not exposure to any elements. In order to document and monitor the condition and decay of this irreplaceable structure while it remains open to the public, the choice of strategy must be carried out in consideration of the needs for extracting the necessary data in the short time allocated to research (the summer field season), and the fact that the site is open to the public daily and also receives a significant proportion of its visitors during this time. We aim to minimize our presence inside the building for reasons of condition, but also implications for interpretation.

This site has enjoyed increasing interest and visibility and is visited by over 7,000 people annually (fig. 1). Moreover, it has become popular with local politicians, who not only see the future economic potential of tourism but also the 'brand' identity that Çatalhöyük provides, promoting recognition for their own locality (TEMPER 2004:25). Groups that alongside the archaeological community influence the interpretation of the site include politicians stressing a nationalistic or pan-European perspective, goddess groups, artists, kilim groups, local communities and sponsors.

Figure 1. The site, the visitors. Photo: Jason Quinlan.

Çatalhöyük constitutes one of the earliest known urban agricultural sites that developed outside the Near East. Its size and complexity in the arts and crafts are superior to those found in other contemporary sites, both in Anatolia and the Near East. The site holds archaeological information previously unknown to the study of the region. Originally excavated in the 1960's by James Mellaart, it was during his tenure that the remarkable wall paintings, as well as depictions said to portray the Mother Goddess, were first revealed to the public.

The current research led by Hodder differs from that conducted by Mellaart in both its long-term scope and "grain" of investigation. Single buildings are excavated slowly over the course of one season, whereas Mellaart excavated over 200 buildings in four years. This fine-grain approach is helping us to understand and re-interpret daily life at the site at an intimate scale. One of the main aims of the new project is to provide the Turkish Ministry of Culture with a well-planned heritage site and tourist destination with in situ displays (Shane and Küçük 1998).

In order to assure the protection and ongoing stewardship of the site, a detailed management plan was prepared as part of the TEMPER Project (Training, Education, Management and Prehistory in the Mediterranean), financed by the European Community under the Euromed Heritage II Programme. The overall excavation project is planned to continue until at least 2018, with a nomination for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage (TEMPER 2004:70), and ultimately turned over to Turkish archaeologists.

The implementation of the plan falls to many different partners, including the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Çatalhöyük Research Project, the Municipality of Çumra, the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums, and the Konya Museum, as well as local communities and key international sponsors. Hodder and the Çatalhöyük Research Project have garnered a complex network of corporate sponsors, academic funding bodies and local communities to make this project sustainable.

Through the process of defining this plan, core objectives were identified that bring into sharp focus potential points of shared – but in many cases conflicting – aims for the project: archaeological excavation, public presentation and conservation research (Hodder 2000). The emphasis of the project is to provide opportunities for interpretation, education and shared access for the public and researchers.

## The challenge

For the uninitiated, tell sites leave much to the imagination and offer little in terms of opportunities to visualize the past. Over 97% of Çatalhöyük remains buried underground. A key objective of our reflexive methodology is to share the processes of archaeology as well as the products. Too often, archaeological sites are viewed as pictures of the past, frozen in time, static and unchanging. In order to provide meaningful experiences for the visiting public and international researchers, many sharing points have been established. Off site, these include an interpretive center, an experimental Neolithic house reconstruction and a planned local museum. On site, visitors are encouraged to take a guided tour of the mound and see firsthand the archaeological researchers at work, during the summer field season. Currently, three major excavations are in progress and two permanent shelters in place, with plans to build at least one more.

For this case study, we are focusing on one of the most exceptional of these onsite sharing points. The fully excavated Building 5 has been on public display since 1999 under a shelter specifically designed to allow visitor access while providing essential protection for the plaster walls (fig. 2). The challenge for site management and conservators is to balance the desire to share this heritage place with the ongoing stewardship and conservation of the building, when sharing could mean increasing the rate of deterioration. The challenge for the public is to look beyond the snapshot that is presented as archaeological remains – to balance the variety of interpretations offered in situ with their own interpretations.

Figure 2. The North Shelter, Building 5. Photo: Michael Ashley.

The North Shelter is a point of destination for any visitor to Çatalhöyük. Initially designed to last only five years (Matero 2000), the shelter comprises a double-skin canvas shroud, a large wooden floored area and a viewing bridge across the dig area that provide excellent viewing of the fully exposed building below (Falck 1999). Yet the introduction of associated protective structures with the intent of conservation is known to add negative effects upon the microenvironment. Moreover, this structure can pose obstacles when it comes to ongoing documentation and conservation monitoring. Access to the Neolithic building itself is challenging, requiring researchers to use an unprotected portion of the north wall as a ladder for egress (Rico 2004). These are points of compromise for the management of the structural stability of this building: the ideal preservation strategy is reburial.

However, the east-neighboring area, Building 3, demonstrates the ephemeral nature of public display caused by reburial. Excavated from 1997-2003, it was also covered with protective shelters of varying shapes and sizes to protect the archaeology and the archaeologists from the sun. Unlike building 5, this excavation area was never intended to be put on permanent display, and in fact was backfilled at the termination of the research project. While the reasons for this are evident in the management plan, there is very little evidence on site that this excavation project that lasted for over seven years ever happened. Institutional memory remains intact, but visitors to the site today have no sense that there was ever a building here. How can we convey to those who visited before and those who are yet to come what happened here, that has now been returned to the 97% of the site beneath the surface of the mound?

## Solutions and Unsolved Problems

Perhaps what is most important about the North Shelter of Building 5 is that it defines a space for sharing between the scholar and the public. It creates a destination for visitors and acts as a physical locus of our conservation strategy. Interestingly, our act of working in the structure turns the Neolithic house into an archaeological place, an object of study. On any given day, the visitor could find that the object of their imagination and the carefully designed interpretive signs that invite them to imagine a different life, are replaced by the archaeology in action phenomenon, reinforcing the present state of the building. Perhaps these acts of conservation in their attempts to preserve a structure and present it as it is today detract from the visitor experience of a place in the past. In practice,

we think that the experience of interaction between public and researchers is positive and should be encouraged. It materializes the concepts of sharing and "multivisuality," breaching the gap between "professional" and "public" access to the site (Fig.3).

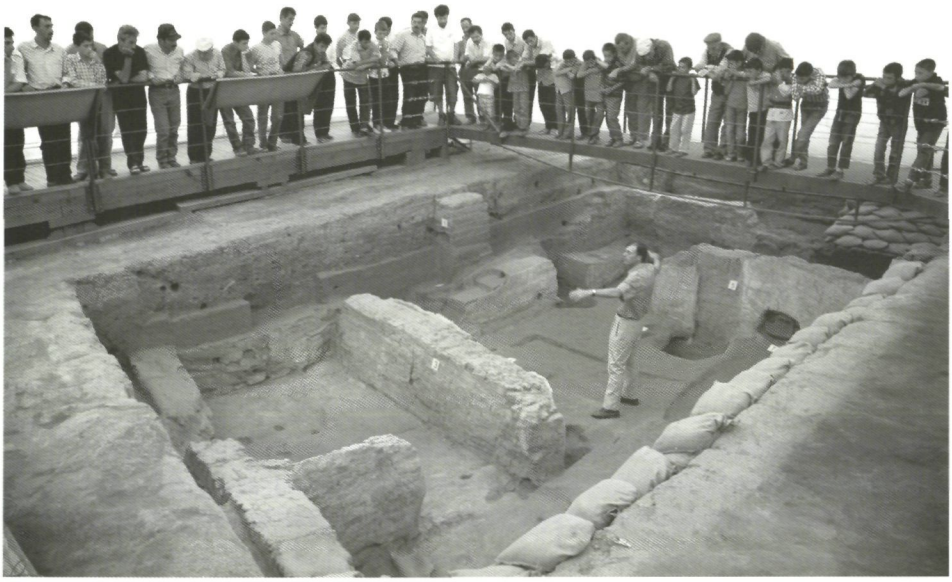


Figure 3. Building 5: the scholar and the visitors: different levels of intimacy with the past. Photo: Jason Quinlan.

We pose more questions than answers. Can open access and transparency of our work be labeled "multivocality"? The site may be a forum for other voices that may desire to participate in the process, but is there a mechanism for us to listen? Are tours and educational programs that are defined by a management plan sharing points? Are they dialectic or monologic? Sharing the role of stewards with the local popula-tion, through soliciting their skills in post-excavation work and security of the site, may be the right direction for their inclusion. But how can we go further to assure that the stewardship of Çatalhöyük is a shared responsibility and action?

This is an opportunity to engage in dialog with local residents who visit this shared place as we conduct our work, our chance to share concepts of stewardship and preservation. Currently, this sharing is often by chance, for the conservation and archaeological work is driven by the management plan, visitation by external schedules of convenience. But this interaction could be carried out in

a less accidental way, where those visitors interested in this and other aspects of site stewardship could be given an intentional chance to collaborate. Working more closely to truly share the process of caring for the past, its challenges and creative solutions, we can shrink the gap between professional archaeologists and the interested public. Ultimately, this will lead to a more engaged and sustainable management not only of Building 5, but also of Çatalhöyük site-wide.

## References

ASHLEY M. 2004. *An Archaeology of Vision: Seeing Past and Present at Çatalhöyük, Turkey*, University of California, Berkeley.

FALCK L. 1999. *Shelter and shoring construction, Çatalhöyük* 1999 Archive Report, <catal.arch.cam.ac.uk/catal/Archive_rep99/falck99.html>, (Consulted Jan 2006).

HODDER I. 2000. *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, McDonald Institute Monographs, Cambridge.

MATERO F. 2000. The conservation of an excavated past, In: Hodder I. (ed), *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, McDonald Institute Monographs, Cambridge.

RICO M.T. 2004. *An evaluation of the existing monitoring and recording systems and the development of a system for Building 5 at the site of Çatalhöyük, Turkey*, Master of Arts Dissertation at the University College London, (unpublished).

TEMPER PROJECT 2004. *Çatalhöyük Management Plan*, April 2004, (unpublished).

SHANE O. & KÜCÜK M. 1998. *Public Presentation at Çatalhöyük*, Çatalhöyük 1998 Archive Report, <catal.archcaac.uk/catal/Archive_rep98/shane98.html>, (Consulted Jan 2006).

# SITES OF CONSCIENCE

# ACTIVATING THE PAST: HISTORIC SITES OF CONSCIENCE

*Liz Sevcenko*
*International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, USA*

FOR better or for worse, places that remember the past play a critical role in contemporary civic life. Heritage is an important terrain on which people express identity, address conflict, forge relationships, and declare their intentions for the future. People turn to sites of memory to address local issues, such as when two black South African communities who clashed during the anti-apartheid struggle worked together to construct a memorial on the street that once divided them as a first step towards reconciliation (Kgalema 1999). They raise national questions, such as whether and how to preserve the infamous Maze/LongKesh prison in Northern Ireland as a place for both Republicans and Loyalists. And they can be the center of international diplomatic crises, such as when Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi visited the Yasukuni Shrine war memorial, whose honored include 14 Japanese convicted of war crimes in 1948, causing China and Korea to call off summit meetings with Japan (Onishi 2006).

But heritage policy is often slow to engage with the role historic sites play in contemporary questions – and the challenges and opportunities this reality poses for practitioners. The International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience (www.sitesofconscience.org) is a network of sites around the world dedicated to exploring these challenges and opportunities. Can – and should – heritage sites confront the connections between past and present our publics are making? How can we open the past as a resource for addressing contemporary issues, without instrumentalizing the past for narrow political ends?

These questions were central to the development of the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York City. The Lower East Side is a neighborhood that has been shaped and reshaped by generations of immigrants from every corner of the world. Today, nearly 40% of the people living in the neighborhood were born in one of 37 different countries; 60% speak a language other than English at home. In these packed streets and cramped apartments, identities and cultures have blended, mixed, and clashed every day for nearly 300 years.

So who owns this neighborhood's past? And what is the role of a heritage site in that debate? The heart of the Lower East Side Museum is a tenement building (a multi-family dwelling) at 97 Orchard Street that an estimated 7,000 immigrants from over 20 different nations called home between 1863 and 1935. The Museum's founders recognized that this site had great potential to contribute to an interest in and respect for diversity – to explore, in the most literal sense, how different people live together.

The Museum initially believed that it could best build respect for diversity by representing difference. Visitors enter carefully restored the apartments of families of different nationalities and religions who actually lived in our building, and hear these families' individual stories of immigrating to New York. On one tour, visitors meet two families struggling to make ends meet and be accepted in America during economic crises. Nathalie Gumpertz was a German single mother who struggled to raise her three children as a dressmaker after her husband abandoned her after the Panic of 1873, and fought to maintain her right to speak German in the face of the first English-only law to be introduced in the United States. The Sicilian Baldizzi family went to great lengths to enter the country illegally, only to be forced to go on government relief during the Depression (fig 1).

Figure 1. The Baldizzi family apartment at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York. Courtesy Lower East Side Tenement Museum.

The Museum quickly learned that if our work stops with representing people in the past – providing a linear narrative through static display – it can reinforce conflicts in the present. On several occasions, visitors asked, in effect,

"who gets an apartment in your building?" In other words, whose histories and cultures will be interpreted at the Museum? Our neighbors from a Chinese American association suggested that more apartments be dedicated to the stories of Chinese families, since the area immediately surrounding the Museum is today part of Chinatown. The leader of a local Jewish community council, on the other hand, remembering when the neighborhood welcomed hundreds of thousands of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, wrote us to say that apartments should be reserved for historical figures from the "predominant 'culture' of the Lower East Side – the Jewish community."

As in so many disputes about who owns the past, the root of this conflict lay in battles over resources in the present day. The Jewish council and the Chinese-American association had been fighting bitterly for 30 years over the rights to build new housing for their constituencies on an abandoned four-acre plot of land – a huge site in a city where waiting lists for affordable housing can be longer than ten years. Attempts to broker compromises in which each ethnic community received a portion of the site had failed. And these are just two of the organizations that are deadlocked in conflicts over other resources, like schools, small businesses, and jobs.

Ultimately, the Museum has only 10 apartments it can interpret in its building, and more than 100 ethnicities to represent. And of course, ethnicity is only one facet of people's identity. If we offer history as nothing more than a finite resource, like housing units, then we set up a zero sum game in which everyone is forced to compete for their fare share.

Instead, the Museum began opening its historic site as a forum for diverse communities to engage in dialogue around the pressing issues underlying conflicts over representation. We worked from the understanding that the question of who owns the past is always implicated in debates over contemporary issues. And that in fact, the past in all its complexity is an invaluable resource in addressing those issues. The stories of the families living at 97 Orchard Street touch the most pressing issues of our time, but allow visitors to consider them through the lives of individual people, and from the safe distance of people living generations ago. These ordinary people were embroiled in critical debates about immigration, housing, social welfare – debates that are still raging and are immediate concerns to the people in our neighborhood today.

The Museum now provides a variety of opportunities for dialogue among different types of stakeholders. The museum offers English classes to recent immigrants, inviting them to 'meet' their historic counterparts and explore

Figure 2. "Kitchen Conversations" public dialogue program on immigration at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York. Courtesy Lower East Side Tenement Museum.

their parallel experiences as newcomers in the United States. Students learn how previous generations of immigrants faced the challenges of settling in a new country, finding a job, making a home; and how they organized to win many of the basic rights in labor, housing, and cultural expression that all Americans now enjoy. Each class then participates in a discussion of challenges immigrants face today, and develops ideas for how to face them, leaving the program with practical information about rights and resources found in the first guide for new immigrants in New York City, published by the Museum with the New York Times. The Museum's 'Kitchen Conversations' program invites all visitors to the Museum – visitors coming from all over the country and the world with very different attitudes towards immigrants – to share coffee, cookies, and their experiences and perspectives on immigration and related issues after their tour (fig. 2).

All dialogues are managed by trained facilitators, who pose deliberately open questions according to a carefully designed format. The Museum works to avoid dictating specific contemporary lessons of the past, to avoid instrumentalizing history for particular conclusions. Instead, the Museum tries to serve as a catalyst for ongoing, changing discussion on deliberately open questions like, what does it mean to be a citizen? Who should be allowed to come in to the country, and who should decide?

One of our most sensitive and ambitious projects addressed the history and current challenges of the garment industry. At the turn of the 20th century, 97 Orchard Street stood at the center of America's garment production – 70% of the nation's women's clothing was produced in our neighbourhood – and at the center of America's debate about sweatshops. On the Lower East Side today, there are more than 150 garment shops employing thousands of immigrant workers. The Department of Labor classifies nearly 75% of them as "sweatshops", but the debate still rages over what a sweatshop is, what should be done to address labor

abuses, and who is responsible.

What is the role of a historic site here? In 2002, the Museum launched a new tour that introduced two families who made their living making clothes. Visitors pick their way through piles of fabric to meet Harris and Jennie Levine, the Russian immigrants who opened a dressmaking shop with three employees in their tenement apartment in 1892 – creating the very type of space the word "sweatshop" was, in that moment, coined to describe.

As the tour narrative was being shaped, and as the exhibit was physically being built, we held dialogues on issues in the garment industry with as many different constituencies as we could reach, from corporations to designers to contractors to unions to immigrant service organizations.

In the first week of the exhibit's opening, we held a day-long roundtable among representatives throughout the garment industry that used our new exhibit as the starting point for dialogue about how conflicting sectors could work together to address abuses in the garment industry. Participants included Eileen Fisher, Toys R Us, Human Rights Watch, UNITE!, the garment workers' union, Levi's, the Kings County Manufacturers Association, and more.

After taking an intimate look at the daily lives of families working in the garment industry 100 years ago, the group gathered for a series of dialogues facilitated by a Museum staff person. Participants were divided into small groups containing at least one representative from each sector (labor, designers, contractors, etc.). Together they discussed the experiences of the two families, and then used these examples to analyze how change was made or why it wasn't, and what were the consequences. Finally, they returned to a large group discussion about what perspective these stories from the past can provide for the industry today, specifically about how different sectors could work together to address persistent abuses.

Serving as an ongoing center for dialogue establishes new role for historic sites in civic life. It transforms museums from places of passive learning to places of active civic engagement. The Tenement Museum's experience suggested that heritage sites are uniquely positioned to serve this role, because they can humanize abstract problems and provide new perspective from which to begin new kinds of conversation. But this approach requires a whole new set of heritage policies and practices, ones that link heritage sites with other civic participation efforts.

In the United States, new conversations began to emerge about moving the role of the museum beyond its 19th-century identity as a keeper of relics,

and even beyond its hard-fought 20th-century identity as a trusted educational institution. More than places for passive learning, some museum professionals began re-imagining museums as centers for active exchange on issues that matter outside their walls. The American Associations of Museums published Mastering Civic Engagement: A Challenge to Museums, in which it envisioned the museum as "a center where people gather to meet and converse… and a participant in collaborative problem solving. It is an active, visible player in civic life, a safe haven, and a trusted incubator of change" (American Association of Museums 2002a). Announcing the publication of the book, AAM's president and CEO Edward Able boldly declared that "the times demand that museums take this [civic] responsibility seriously as a core value." (American Association of Museums 2002b). The Ford Foundation articulated its own vision of the civic museum space, celebrating a growing number of cultural institutions who "are moving to claim an active, intentional role in public dialogue around the kinds of contemporary issues that provoke multiple view-points." Such institutions are "an extraordinary civic force, and one whose potential remains significantly underacknowledged." (Korza et. al. 2005)

Yet beyond these broad declarations, there were few models of an effective civic museum in the United States. By 1999, the Tenement Museum realized it could not pursue this new type of heritage work alone. The Museum's president put out a call to sites around the world, looking for others that shared its commitment to serving as an active center for dialogue. Eight responded: the District Six Museum (South Africa), remembering forced removal under apartheid; the Gulag Museum (Russia); the only Stalinist labor camp to be preserved in Russia; the Liberation War Museum (Bangladesh), excavating killing fields and memorializing the genocide of the Bangladeshi people during the Liberation War of 1971; the Maison des Esclaves (Senegal), an 18th century slave transport station; the National Park Service (USA), representing the Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls and other sites; Memoria Abierta (Argentina), commemorating the "disappeared" during the dictatorships of the 1970s and 80s; Terezin Memorial (Czech Republic), a labor camp used to model the "humane practices" of the Nazi regime to the Red Cross; and The Workhouse (United Kingdom), a 19th-century solution to poverty.

Realizing that our new approach to museum work required new support, we unanimously decided to form the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience with the following declaration:

*We hold in common the belief that it is the obligation of historic sites to assist the public in drawing connections between the history of our site and its contemporary implications. We view stimulating dialogue on pressing social issues and promoting humanitarian and democratic values as a primary function.*

We established strict criteria for membership in the Coalition as a way of challenging ourselves, and other museums around the world, to meet our civic obligations. We defined a Site of Conscience as a museum that:

- interprets history through historic sites;
- engages in programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues and promote humanitarian and democratic values as a primary function;
- shares opportunities for public involvement in issues raised at the site.

In our view, there was nothing inherent in a site that guaranteed it would play the civic role we envisioned, and nothing that precluded it from doing so. Instead, for us a Site of Conscience was defined by the commitment of its stewards to play an active role in engaging its audiences in civic dialogue around contemporary issues. The most powerful site of the Atlantic slave trade can not spontaneously inspire democratic exchange about contemporary racism, and risks lying dormant at the margins of civic life. On the other hand, there are almost no limits to the stories and themes that can inspire important dialogue. Sites representing the triumph of democracy, social justice, or human rights, like the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site, where the Declaration of Human Rights was drafted, are as powerful as sites representing their failure, like the Maison des Esclaves in Senegal. Sites representing the histories of human interaction with the natural world, like the Thoreau Institute at Walden Woods, are as important as sites interpreting humans' interaction with one another. The door was wide open to any site: the onus was on the stewards to activate these sites as democratic forums.

## Giving a Site Conscience: Moving from Temple to Forum

What is involved in establishing a Site of Conscience? Member sites have worked to make their sites centers for civic engagement by fostering public dialogue on contemporary issues, and designing new spaces for dialogue to happen.

***Fostering Dialogue.*** Sites of Conscience are committed to making explicit connections between the past and the present, actively engaging visitors in discussing the future, and inspiring and equipping them to participate in shaping it. In designing Sites of Conscience programs, directors considered:

1. What is the story we want to tell?
2. Why do we need to tell that story (what is the contemporary political/ social context in which you are working that makes this story important to tell)?
3. What civic questions do we want our visitors to consider during a visit to our site?
4. How will we engage them in dialogue around these questions?
5. What impact do we hope to have and how will we measure it?

Alarmed by the rise in racist violence in Czech Republic and the lack of public discussion around it, Terezin Memorial designed a series of teacher training workshops and school programs that use the perspectives of the holocaust to foster open dialogue on the current situation. Stressing the importance of individual citizen participation, and the consequences of inaction, the workshops analyze recent patterns of discrimination and violence against Roma peoples, as well as emerging neo-Nazi movements, and ask students and educators to develop ideas for how to build a pluralistic and tolerant society for the future.

Figure 3. "Streets" exhibit at the District Six Museum in South Africa: floor map of the former District Six neighborhood on which ex-residents may write their memories. Courtesy of the District Six Museum.

The District Six Museum in South Africa covered its floor with a map of the destroyed neighborhood, and invited former residents to place their homes, streets, stores, and community spaces. This memory mapping project became

the basis for land reclamation claims, and the Museum organized and hosted one of the Land Courts on its site. Former residents sat in chairs directly on the map of their old neighborhood, as the court granted them, in the words of one, "our land back, our homes back, our dignity back." (Audio recording of Land Court proceedings, District Six Museum), (fig. 3).

In South Asia, the Liberation War Museum in Bangladesh was disturbed by growing violence motivated by religious extremism. The Museum brought together a constellation of sites in India and Bangladesh to open the stories of Gandhi's life as a resource for dialogues between Hindus and Muslims today. Plans include a youth peace camp to bring together Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan youth, representing both religions, to a Gandhi Ashram to explore the history of non-violent civic action and discuss ways to address religious conflict today.

***Building a forum***: designing a space for dialogue. What does a Site of Conscience – a forum-museum – look like? Many sites have realized that a commitment to serving as a forum for civic dialogue requires a new physical design. Traditional museum design has focused on passive learning, guiding visitors along a linear path of panels or cases in which the interaction is solely between the visitor and the information presented. But what if the mission of the museum is to engage visitors with each other?

Several sites have built dialogue into their new facilities. The Japanese American National Museum's new National Center for the Preservation of Democracy includes both a "Forum," an auditorium that "serves as the centerpiece for the National Center's Commitment to discourse, dialogue, and community engagement," as well as a "Democracy Lab" designed for "group discussions, polls of current national and local issues, and more." (National Center for the Preservation of Democracy brochure, 2002). Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site, dedicated to preserving sites related to the landmark Supreme Court decision that brought an end to segregation in public education, planned for a new visitor center in the former Monroe elementary school, a segregated school for African Americans in Topeka Kansas. The visitor center was designed under an overarching concept of "Discovery and Discourse," to "include spaces for individual reflection and group discussion." (Brown v Board of Education National Historic Site application for membership in the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, 2001).

While these sites model their democratic forums after spaces of official public deliberation, such as the town hall or the legislature, others recreate the more

intimate, spontaneous, and marginal places where important civic engagement happens. The Tenement Museum's dialogue space is called "the Kitchen;" the room's soft lighting, kitchen tables, and mismatched chairs welcome visitors to participate in an informal dialogue that begins with personal experiences – those histories that are told and retold in the kitchen – and uses them as the starting point for a discussion of larger issues around immigration. The Liberation War Museum in Bangladesh created a Mobile Museum, a sort of democratic forum on wheels that travels to schools around the country. According to Trustee Akku Chowdhury, free exchange and inquiry is not encouraged in Bangladeshi classrooms. Rather than conduct its programs in the classroom spaces, Liberation War Museum staff park the bus on school grounds and invite students to board. In the intimate space of the bus, surrounded by exhibits on the genocide of Bengali people and their struggles for democracy, the rules and culture of the classroom don't apply. Students sit in a circle and engage in open discussions around questions including Who is a Bangladeshi? Which of the country's founding ideals has been realized? Which have not? What can I do to help realize them?

## Defining Democracy: Truth-seeking vs. Dialogue

The Coalition itself has provided a spirited forum in which to debate how historic sites can serve as democratic institutions and demonstrate democratic processes. At the heart is a debate over what democracy looks like, and what is the most effective path to reaching it. Coalition members come from a wide diversity of political contexts. All sites interpret experiences and events that relate to pressing issues today; but some, like Memoria Abierta, are living in the immediate aftermath of these events, while others, like the 18th-century Slave House in Senegal, are looking back on a longer legacy. This difference in distance informs how different members view the role of their site in their society, what they view as the most urgent democratic project, and how they seek to engage their audiences.

Some sites, particularly those representing governments, like the US National Park Service, or larger institutions, like the British National Trust, were committed to avoid explicitly advocating a specific position on a contemporary issue, such as who should receive public assistance and for how long, or who should be allowed to immigrate to the United States. Instead, these members resolved to serve as open forums for dialogue on all sides of contemporary debates, taking care to pose questions with a variety of possible answers. For many, that meant including multiple perspectives in their narratives, as in the Tenement Museum's

audio introduction to its 'sweatshop' exhibit, featuring the voices of workers, contractors, designers, and union organizers. For others, it meant inviting participants from a variety of perspectives to exchange experiences at the site, such as when the Gulag Museum brought together former prisoners and former guards to meet and tell their stories (fig. 4).

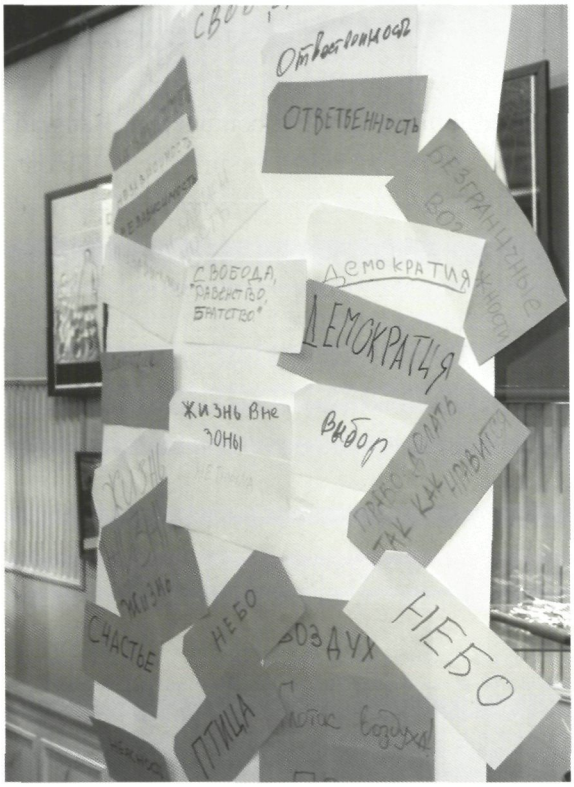



Figure 4. "I Have Rights" program at the Gulag Museum in Russia: Visions of freedom for Russia today expressed by young people after taking a tour of the Perm-36 camp. Courtesy of the Gulag Museum at Perm-36.

For other sites, multiple perspectives smacked of moral relativism. Directors of the District Six Museum, Memoria Abierta, and the Liberation War Museum whose projects are an integral part of larger truth-seeking efforts, related to proving that crimes against humanity occurred, bringing perpetrators to justice, and establishing truth commissions. These sites' specific goal within the larger human rights effort is to develop a public consciousness or acceptance of certain facts as indisputable. Exposing the total abrogation of democracy and developing a strong public memory of this abrogation is their highest priority in their effort to

build a democratic culture. These sites leave the truths of human rights violations unquestioned, but offer the future of their countries as an open debate, inviting visitors to consider a variety of ways they can participate in shaping it.

Since our founding, the Coalition has grown to 17 Sites of Conscience supporting a network of over 1300 initiatives from 97 nations. The Coalition helps museums meet the challenge of serving as Sites of Conscience by:

- supporting innovative programs at member sites that foster dialogue on contemporary issues;
- sponsoring learning exchanges, from 1-1 collaborations to intensive seminars to large conferences;
- launching regional networks in South Asia, South America, Russia, and Africa of sites interpreting similar histories addressing common contemporary issues.

Ultimately, the Coalition hopes to foster new heritage policies and practices that address the vital role historic sites play in contemporary life. We look to the day when citizens all over the world, faced with a significant social issue, will be able to turn to historic sites to consider and address it. We hope that historic sites interpreting a single moment will be continually renewed by citizens challenging the latest legacy of what happened there as it takes new form in their societies.

## References

AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS OF MUSEUMS 2002a. *Mastering Civic Engagement: A Challenge to Museums*, Washington.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS OF MUSEUMS 2002b. Press Release: *American Associations of Museums Announces the Publication of Mastering Civic Engagement: A Challenge to Museums*, April 25, 2002.

KGALEMA L. 1999. *Symbols of Hope: Monuments as Symbols of Remembrance and Peace in the Process of Reconciliation*, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg.

KORZA P., BACON B.S. & ASSAF A. 2005. *Civic Dialogue, Arts and Culture: Findings from Animating Democracy*, Americans for the Arts, Washington.

ONISHI N. *Koizumi Further Deepens Debate Over Shrine*, New York Times August 15, 2006.

# THE PEACE SCHOOL FOUNDATION OF MONTE SOLE: DOING PEACE EDUCATION BETWEEN MEMORIES AND HISTORIES

**Roberta Pellizzoli**
*Monte Sole Peace School, Italy*

> *"Small and wide territories that have experienced the suffering of innocents caused by the will of their "fellow creatures" can not be considered regardless of the violence staged on them. [...] What a democratic society should do with such territories? Build a wall and make them inaccessible? Confine them into a museum? [...] I believe that only a laborious activity of de-contamination can restore these places to humanity."*
>
> (Moni Ovadia 2001)

MONTE Sole is a triangle of valleys, approximately ten miles south of Bologna, in the Apennines. Between 29 September and 5 October 1944, when the battlefront was just a few miles from Monte Sole, the place was the site of a slaughter led by SS troops with the help of local Fascist elements. In those days, more than 800 people, mostly women and children, were killed. The violent actions against the civil population have to be considered as part of the "terror domination" that Nazis and Fascists of the Social Republic carried out after the armistice of 8 September 1943. The activities of partisan groups in the area are not enough to explain the size and the cruelty of the massacre: "the widespread forms of violence that were part of the conduct of the occupying troops have sometimes to be considered independent from a causal relationship with specific behaviour of the population" (Collotti 1996: 20).

Building a Peace School (fig. 1) in a place that has "experienced the suffering of innocents" is part of that activity of decontamination that goes further the mere conservation of memory. At Monte Sole, the narration – based on ongoing historic research and on existing documentation – of its tragic past becomes the starting point for challenging activities of education and training aimed at the establishment of a culture of peace. A culture of peace does not rule out the existence of conflicts, but is intended as a means to recognise and accept that conflict pertains to every level of our living and to creatively transform them.

Figure 1. The Peace School of Monte Sole.

Monte Sole is a "place of memory" (Nora 1984; Isnenghi 1997), the memory of extreme violence carried out against defenceless civilians that nevertheless does not seek to *monumentalise* this memory. A Peace School then embodies the choice to make the memory active and to make it living in the present. Doing peace education and building a culture of peace therefore implies starting from this memory that certainly needs to be preserved but most of all has to be decontaminated.

## Monte Sole: How a Place can Educate

Whether the monumentalisation of a place may become a *summary* of the memory contributing effectively to the construction of the public memory is a problem that requires further analysis (Tota 2001; Baiesi 2004). The Peace School considers the *place* of Monte Sole as the ideal context and the starting point for every educational activity offered to the public, which is mainly composed of students from primary school through high school.

There are only few ruins left from the massacre of Monte Sole, because the SS troops, while leaving the place, set fire to every single house and to the small scattered villages. The consequent abandonment of the valley and time did the rest. The visitor's eye has therefore to be trained to go beyond what it sees; this is

Figure 2. Restoration works on the historic site of Monte Sole.

a place that speaks thanks to its absence – the result of the attempt to destroy not only people's lives but also the possibility to remember. The work of the historian and of historic research become increasingly important because they act as intermediaries between what one sees now and what it used to be and they might help in the correct interpretation of the diverse stratifications of memories settled in the place. It is worth noting that the historic site of Monte Sole has undergone some restoration in recent years (fig. 2). Two main ruins have been excavated to reveal foundation outlines and some walls, and other walls have been reconstructed without properly respecting the former setting of the houses. These kinds of operations obviously raise several questions on the authenticity of the place and on the misinterpretations that they may induce which are not to be explored here.

***A Visit to Monte Sole***. Every activity that the Peace School offers begins with a walking tour through the main and most accessible ruins. Educators start the tour by walking students up a small hill to a vista point (fig. 3). There educators ask students to carefully observe the landscape around them, and consider what they think the place looked like 70 years ago, right before World War II. This educational strategy is effective in that it gives students enough time to observe the landscape, to absorb and to connect to it, and to imagine their own history of it. The view is of rolling green hills and of scattered forests, devoid of any trace of human inhabitation or cultivation. Children often guess that there were farms, or

cattle, but rarely imagine a village. The educators then explain – according to the age of the students and to their supposed knowledge of history – what happened there between 29 September and 5 October 1944. A map of the area illustrating the movement of the Nazi and Fascist forces is shown to the class, in order for the students to understand how the position of Monte Sole, between two rivers and near a railroad line, made it extremely important for communications in wartime. At this stage of the tour, the military strategy of the Nazi troops is also explained, for it is important to learn that this was intended as an operation of surrounding and mopping-up and that the aim was to "set fire to all the villages, kill the cattle and all the civilians, including women and children" (SS Kneissel in Klinkhammer 1997: 125).

The tour proceeds to three different ruins, where scant remains of a few different massacre sites can be seen: a collection of private homes and little shops; a church (fig. 4) and a cemetery. The educator narrates how the massacre took place in each place: what strategies the villagers used to try to survive; what strategies the soldiers used to trap them; how the villagers where ultimately killed; and how any survivor escaped. The narration includes oral testimonies collected during the years since the war that are read aloud by the educators. Sometimes a survivor – who is also one of the founders of the Peace School – delivers his or her own oral testimony. The Peace School decided deliberately not to make survivors

Figure 3. Monte Sole, landscape.

the primary tour guides, but to invite them to share their stories as a complement to the historical narrative of the educators. In fact survivors' testimonies must be presented as individual and personal experiences that are different from the broader historical narrative based on documentation and ongoing research.

While the first stopover of the tour has the primary aim of giving students the historical basis (both at a general and a local level) to understand the events that occurred in Monte Sole, stops at the other three sites offer educators the opportunity to start to trace links between the history of the place and contemporary issues in which students can become engaged. This also lays the basis for the workshop activity that follows the tour. Issues raised in this part of the tour include, for example, observations on the role of the perpetrators – who were they and how old? Why were they acting in such a cruel way? Was there room for disobedience? A discussion on the margin of individual choice of the Nazi soldiers in executing orders or not usually stimulates dialogue on the relationship between an individual and the group one is part of (be it the class at school, a group of friends or the family) – and on personal responsibility (for an in-depth analysis see Browning 1992). Beside this, the educators usually underline the use of fear as a means of control and power. This might easily lead to a discussion on how the immigrants are portrayed in the media and on how this may foster stereotypes difficult to eradicate.

Figure 4. Church of Casaglia, Monte Sole.

The *place* Monte Sole becomes then a path of knowledge capable of deconstructing the process that led to unlimited violence. It is the same violence that can be found in deportation camps, in contemporary wars or genocides and offers a bridge between past and present. Moreover, working in this place gives educators the possibility of operating on two levels, that of knowledge and that of emotions – which is a personal and private dimension and which is of crucial importance for the activities and workshops following the tour. These workshops vary according to the age of the students and usually aim at deepening the issues of responsibility – individual and collective – of education, propaganda, human rights, and creative resolution of conflicts.

## Doing Peace Education in Practice: How a Workshop Works

In the following section I will provide an example of a workshop intended for pupils aged from 8 to 10. The second part will be dedicated to what can be considered a long workshop, or, properly named, a summer peace camp called "Peace in 4 Voices" for young people aged 15 to 20.

***Cominciamo Giocando – Start Playing!: a role play proposal for primary school.*** This activity (based on an idea of Loos 1995) consists of role-playing with the aim tof promoting a peaceful coexistence between different cultures and to make pupils reflect upon the importance of memories in the creation of non-violent cultures and practices. "Start Playing" takes place in Monte Sole and goes on for two days (the Peace School has overnight accommodations for about 60 people) and is intended as the main activity of an annual curriculum that educators arrange with teachers.

In the first part of the activity students are divided into a group of "circles" and one of "angles" living in two different planets. With the support of the educators, the two groups working separately have to build their own identity (e.g. they invent a way of walking or greeting that may typical of an angle or of a circle). They are then informed that they are obliged to leave their planet because of severe lack of natural resources: they learn about the possibility to settle in the planet of Monte Sole and they are told that it is completely uninhabited. However, they have to agree to share the new planet with another population which is completely different from them. When this element of conflict is introduced, the educators try to organize a discussion on how they better relate to the unknown population (do they want to attack, or tolerate, or meet and befriend them?).

The two groups usually want to meet and the moment of the meeting is one of great confusion and misunderstanding: differences seem unbridgeable. While some pupils usually push for a violent resolution of the conflict, others look for alternative solutions. The educators must serve as mediators in order for the two groups to know each other better and to agree on shared rules for living together peacefully. They are then separated in small groups and asked to write five rules for coexistence: the rules are discussed and voted by the whole group afterward. They are also supposed to agree on ten things that they want to bring with them on the new planet, so that the issue of memory is openly discussed.

In the second part, angles and circles leave their planet for the planet of Monte Sole; they are walked thought the ruins and they start asking question on what they see around them. Suddenly an old man comes out of the forest and tells the children that he is the only survivor of a dramatic event that destroyed the whole place, and he is the guardian of its memory. Children then ask if he wants them to live there and they show him their rules and the things that they brought their own memories. Rules and memories are discussed and revised with the survivor who asks the children new questions: can memories of the place and those of the children live respectfully together? Will they be able to protect the memories of Monte Sole? Are children's rules consistent with the tragic past of Monte Sole?

The final part of the role play is devoted to debriefing. First, the whole activity is discussed, trying to relate the dynamics of the role playing to the everyday life of the children. They are asked to fill an imaginary "suitcase of memories" with a special moment or feeling from their experience in Monte Sole. The second part of the debriefing is creative, as the pupils draw what has most captured their imagination. In this part, the relationship of the activity to everyday life is crucial: the evocative narration of a tragic event of the past can become an effective tool in making the children think about smaller and bigger conflicts of their lives.

***Peace in 4 Voices: a summer peace camp on dialogue and non violent resolution of conflicts***. The experience of these camps started more than a decade ago with Israeli and Palestinian youngsters. In the beginning there were only two voices and the discussion on conflict was deeply influenced by political factors. There was no real dialogue among participants but rather the two delegations faced each other as representatives of their two countries – and almost inevitably ended in a harsh confrontation. That is the main reason why the staff of the Peace School began discussing the possibility of radically changing the structure

of the camp. Initially we decided that a group of Italian youngsters must join the camp in order to avoid a mechanism that, in the Peace School experience, can be often found in young people who live in a daily situation of conflict – that is, presuming that the majority of people who are not directly involved in the conflict are not aware of it, cannot understand its dynamics, nor are even interested in it. On the other hand, Italian youngsters could benefit from this kind of experience by making them aware of what is happening in other parts of the world and giving them the possibility of engaging in human rights education and in the practice of creative resolution of conflicts. Adding another voice to the camp was meant to help the youngsters coming from current conflict regions to leave the macro-level of the conflict behind and to concentrate on their personal experiences and feelings. Though there was some improvement in the daily dynamics and the final outcomes of the summer camp, new difficulties arose, as both the Israeli and Palestinian groups tried to draw the Italian delegation to their own side, by portraying the other group as the "bad". Eventually the structure of the summer camp went through another major change and it was decided also to invite a group of German young people to comprise a fourth group.

This choice seemed quite natural afterwards, and it was a fruitful one: not only did we have two groups coming from current conflict regions and two from past conflict regions, but also the place Monte Sole became more and more important. Having in Monte Sole an Italian and a German group living and working was an extremely effective starting point for introducing both the issue of memory and of reconciliation.

Since then, the main aims of this activity were clearly set:

- To facilitate encounters between young people belonging to groups that are in conflict
- To promote dialogue and positive confrontation between different cultures in order to understand diversity as a positive value
- To make the participants aware of their different personal experiences, memories, histories
- To actively engage in mediation of conflicts and creative transformation/ resolution of conflicts
- To draw up a chart of shared principles and values which must be respectful of different identities.

Activities are organized in workshops: small groups made up of four or five people enable everyone to actively participate to discussions and for the creative production and exchange of ideas. Creative cooperation is intended as an essential tool for positive confrontation and mediation between different opinions and point of views in a small group. Participants are usually asked to produce something creative such as a performance, a song or a poster, and this necessarily requires an effort of concrete cooperation.

Participants – usually around forty in number, with ten for each group aged from 15 to 20, plus two trainers for each group – meet in Monte Sole as individuals and not as representatives of their country of origin: this is made very clear at the beginning of the camp and is meant to help people to get past nationality differences. In this situation of being all at the same human level, with needs, hopes and feelings that sometimes can be similar, it becomes possible to cope with the conflict not in direct but in a transversal way – through the daily experiences of the individuals, their memories, their points of view. In trying to keep the discussion at the personal level, participants are asked to reciprocally recognize and in this process the 'enemy' becomes the 'other', like everyone is.

The idea of *memories* is a cornerstone in the summer camp and it is the reason why one whole day is devoted to learning about the memory of Monte Sole and about the historical context of which this memory is part. This activity offers the possibility of reflection on personal memories, on individual responsibility, on the mechanisms that lead to violence, on remembering vs. forgetting. Moreover, the oral testimony of a survivor of the Monte Sole massacre makes people acknowledge the difficulties of coping with that memory and of answering crucial questions such as "why was such violence against unarmed civilians carried out?"; "why did I survive?"; "what are the feelings that I hold today towards the perpetrators?" All these leave room for discussing possibilities and difficulties of overcoming a trauma.

## Conclusions

Doing peace education in Monte Sole begins with an investigation of the issues of memories and histories. The Peace School is located in a particular place, a place that can be emblematic for the reconstruction and the analysis of those mechanisms of violence that here emerged in such a tragic way.

The pedagogy of racism and violence was taught to thousands of young during Nazism and Fascism; through propaganda, memory and history have been

stereotyped and used in a political way and have dictated an univocal view of the past by shaping a collective memory disrespectful of pluralism, which is one of the main characteristics of memories.

Peace education rejects this way of interpreting the past and encourages the acceptance of different memories, even divided and conflicting memories, in the perspective of mediation, negotiation and reconciliation. Indeed, every process of reconciliation goes through people's awareness of what has happened in the past – without denying personal and collective responsibilities – and of the different representations that memories have of that past. Learning and teaching to remember is therefore a good start.

## References

BROWNING C.R. 1992. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, HarperCollins, New York

COLLOTTI E. 1996. Occupazione e guerra totale nell'Italia 1943-45, In: Matta T. (a cura di), *Un percorso della memoria. Guida ai luoghi della violenza nazista e fascista in Italia*, Electa, Trieste, 11-36.

KLINKHAMMER L. 1997. *Stragi naziste in Italia: la guerra contro i civili 1943-44*, Donzelli, Roma.

ISNENGHI M. (a cura di) 1997. *I luoghi della memoria. Personaggi e date dell'Italia unita*, Laterza, Roma.

LOOS S. 1995. La via del gioco. L'incontro interplanetario, In: Drerup A. (a cura di), *Educare ai diritti. Una "cassetta degli attrezzi"*, Amnesty International, Roma.

OVADIA M. 2001. Un luogo contaminato, In: Sarti R., *I me ciamava per nome 44.*787 – Risiera di San Sabba, Baldini e Castoldi, Milano.

NORA P. 1984. *Le lieux de la mémoire,* Gallimard, Paris.

TOTA A.L. 2001. Le città della memoria: introduzione, In: Tota A.L. (a cura di), *La memoria contesa. Studi sulla comunicazione sociale del passato*, Franco Angeli, Milano.

# THE WORKHOUSE: HERITAGE AND THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

*Nikki Williams*
*The Workhouse, UK*

*"It is not an exaggeration to claim that The Workhouse, erected just outside Southwell in Nottinghamshire in 1824, is one of the most important poor-law buildings to have survived in England. The deterrent regime introduced by its founder, the Revd. J T Becher, inspired those charged with drafting the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and became a fundamental principle of work-house administration under the New Poor Law. The radial plan of the building - designed to facilitate supervision, segregation and classification, key features of the deterrent system - provided a model for hundreds of new work-houses built after 1834. But apart from its importance in poor-law history, this building is quite simply the best preserved workhouse standing in England today."*
(Smith 2003)

THE mass closure of English institutions since the late 1970s presented an unexpected challenge. Thousands of buildings which were originally erected as hospitals, lunatic asylums, industrial schools, children's homes or workhouses were suddenly faced with the threat of either demolition or a wholesale refurbishment which would utterly destroy their institutional character. As these classes of building were poorly understood, it was likely that monuments which occupied pivotal positions in the history of health and welfare in England, such as The Workhouse, Southwell, would be lost forever, or transformed beyond recognition taking with it the stories of the every day persons fight against poverty.

Had it not survived The Workhouse, Southwell would still occupy a key position in the history of the English Poor Law. First of all, the disciplined regime which was introduced by the founder, the local magistrate Revd John Thomas Becher, inspired those who drafted the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

In addition, as the least altered workhouse left in England, the National Trust saw it as essential to step in and preserve this pivotal piece of architecture that told the story of how the people of Britain took its first step towards a welfare state and began to acknowledge its poor. The internal layout of the building is

Figure 1. Front of the Workhouse.

still that of 1824, the year it first opened its doors to paupers: the narrow stone staircases are unchanged, the governor's water-closets survive, original fire openings and surrounds are still in situ. The walls of the upstairs dormitories still display late 19th century workhouse paintwork, now peeling off to reveal the brighter colours of earlier schemes underneath. On lower floors, rooms have been restored to reflect the simplicity and cleanliness of the decoration from its earlier days. Externally, door and window apertures are unaltered and most of the original metal-framed glazing survived, rusted but in working order. In addition its rural setting has been preserved: most C19th workhouses have been engulfed by spreading suburbs disguising the sense of isolation and exclusion the in mates must have felt in these imposing buildings that sat on the outskirts of so many commu-nities in Victorian Britain.

The "deterrent workhouse" system associated with Rev. J T Becher was based on the principles of Supervision, Classification and Segregation, principles which were translated into bricks and mortar by the architecture of Thurgarton Hundred Incorporated Workhouse (The Workhouse, Southwell). Classification related to those they label the undeserving poor – the "old and infirm" or First Class pauper and the "Idle and profligate" or Second Class pauper, those who were able bodied and therefore assumed to be lazy.

The system for the "Able Bodied" was the validity behind the word

"work" house. Set to work for their food and shelter they would spend from sun up until sun down engaged in a laborious routine of prayers, gruel for sustenance thrice daily and manual labour. Stone breaking, okum picking, gardening and maintenance of the building for men. Washing, cooking, laundry, cleaning the building and fetching water for women. First-class and second-class men and women had their own exercise yards, day rooms and dormitories, and ingenious interlocking staircases to ensure that separate classes never met. Further segregation occurred for the children. The system applied to all inmates; therefore children were separated from their parents and kept in the rear wing of the building. Frosted

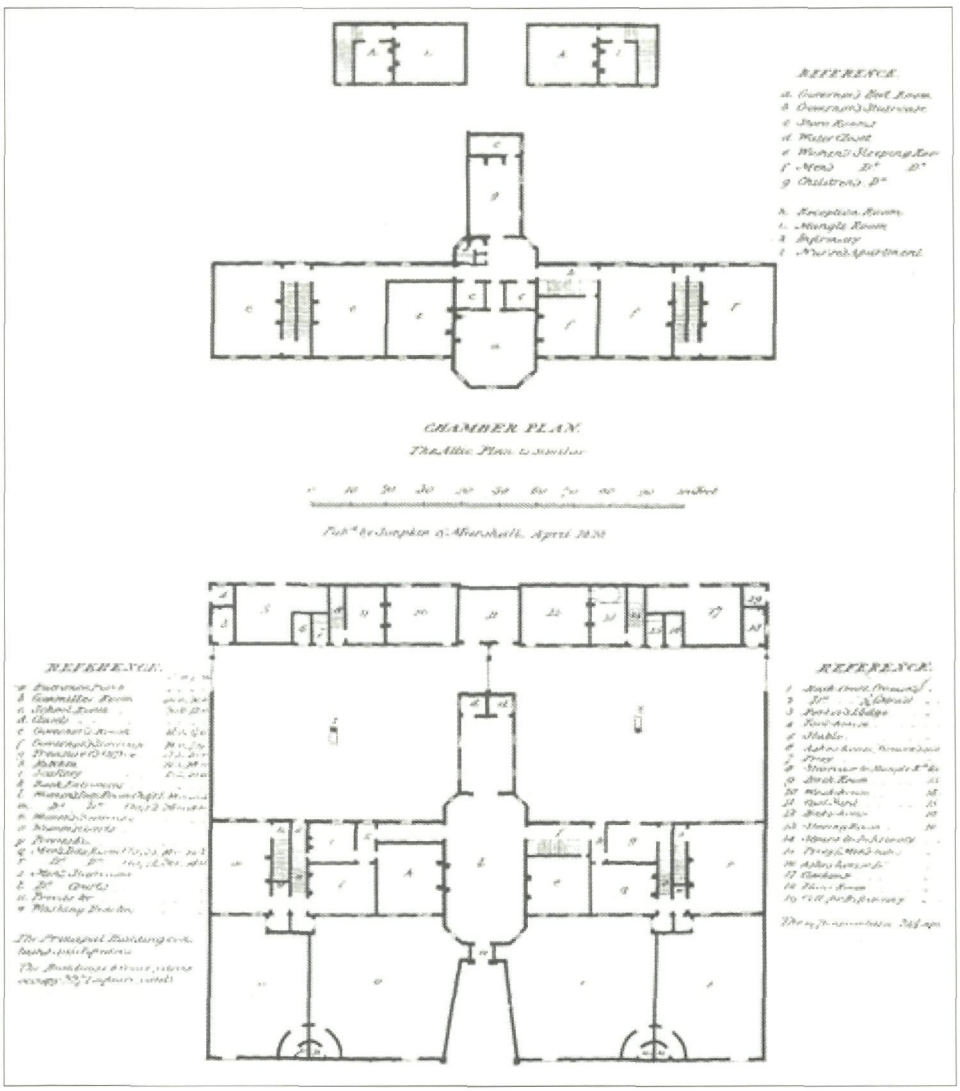



Figure 2. Plan of the Workhouse.

glass prevented visual contact with parents and again, a strict routine of work was applied which included many hours of disciplined schooling.

For the "Old and Infirm", a kinder regime was in place. Work was not an absolute and luxuries included tobacco, ale and a back on your chair in the day rooms for resting. But to be old and infirm invariably meant that you were "waiting for God".

The governor's quarters in a polygonal central block had views over the paupers' exercise yards and most importantly, work yards. Symbols of staff status above inmates are subtle within the buildings structure. Wooden floors, plaster where brick walls suffice for paupers, fire surrounds and skirting boards. Never the less, space was of a premium, therefore a single room for a Master's family often was their total "private" space.

Young children were based behind the Master's quarters so that the Matron – often the Master's wife, could care for them. This created a very intense, hard working environment for the staff on site and records show, they rarely stayed for any length of time.

Figure 3. The Workhouse 1840.

Figure 4. The Workhouse 1970.

The key to protecting the austere, forbidding spirit of this place today rests on the sensitive handling of the presentation. The interpretive approach is that of a non-invasive touch simply to coax out the full feel of the existing fabric, with no additions that detract from the essence of the building and its ghosts, allowing them to speak, through the building, to the imagination of the visitor.

Though the Thurgarton plan was not directly copied by any other architect involved in designing New Poor Law workhouses, its key principle of the radial plan was adopted in no less than 320 workhouses erected between 1835 and 1840.Thurgarton Incorporated Hundred Workhouse became Southwell Union Workhouse in 1836.The building has remained relatively unchanged through out its life time; early 20th century additions include a building which incorporates a garage, stabling and a mortuary under one roof, and a wash-house with adjoining drying room. These buildings are good representatives of their type and illustrate how the workhouse remained an active institution over many generations.

By the mid 1910s the building had changed its name to Greet House in an effort to quash the terrible reputation Workhouses collectively across the England had developed for harsh work regimes, poor diet, maltreatment of in-mates and worst of all, a place where the old, no longer able to work or be of "use" to society were sent to die. For a large number, the site as it stands now represents a

place where the general myth and fear of "the workhouse," perhaps passed down through generations, can be explored and understood.

As the building passed in to the hands of the local authority, it became further entrenched in the welfare state. By the mid 1950's it became a "holding pen" for unmarried mothers and families labelled as "trouble" by the authorities while they waited for council house accommodation. In addition, its use as a local maternity ward means for some it is where they were born; others knew relations who were cared for in its reincarnation as a mixed residential home and later a home for elderly women, with a block for senile women.

Stories of exclusion from the local community continue as strongly in 1970 as they did in 1840. Bullied and label a "Greet House Kid" or "Workhouse kid," the stigma of having been placed within the walls of the workhouse is still with many today. The property gives the visitor the opportunity to experience first hand, through oral history, the feeling of being in The Workhouse in 1970:

> *But to live in one room for so long with so many people you just lost all that privacy. You had to undress in front of other people. You have to, you argued over the television, you argued over the records.... The one thing I hated was actually sharing the bathroom and toilet I hated that. That was always, always be with me even now and going to the public toilets I hate to use a public toilet because again it was sharing it was the stigma of sharing with other families again but it was, it was the only way we could do it.*

## The Poor Are Always Among Us

... and this statement we never forget. The Workhouse takes very seriously the need to ensure that visitors do not distance themselves from poverty today, setting this regime into a time capsule and thinking that it doesn't happen now.

The final part of the building is laid over to contemporary relevance. Interactives encourage visitors to test their perception of poverty. Modern day equivalents of benefits and housing allow a compare and contrast of then and now. Discussion boards using newspaper articles and magazine cuttings are an integral part of the room. Changing exhibitions covering diverse subjects such as homelessness, abuse, housing welfare and charitable aid keep the subject matter current and fresh.

The Workhouse presents a unique opportunity to explore the problems of

poverty, homelessness and unemployment, examining how these problems have been dealt with through time. It is the topicality of the subject which will provide a gateway for visitors to begin to discuss and hopefully, understand an issue that has been of central concern to society through the ages. The story of the poor, the destitute, of the homeless never started nor ended! It was and always is with us; it is only our response to it which changes. From this we gain two significant insights: first, that we should make no moral judgements about how the Victorians responded to this social challenge, because we could not claim to have solved the problem ourselves; second, that historical periods are not to be regarded as foreign lands which we visit temporarily to quickly return home. Rather they are part of our experience that can illuminate the present in a fresh, new light.

## References

BECHER J.T. 1828. *The Anti-Pauper System*, London
SMITH S. 2001. *The Southwell Workhouse*, The National Trust, London
SMITH S. 2003. *Spirit of Place – The Workhouse*, The National Trust, London.

# WHO HAS THE RIGHT TO JUDGE THE VALUE OF HERITAGE? SELECTIVE MEMORIES OF JAPANESE COLONIAL HERITAGE IN SOUTH KOREA

*Jong Hyun, Lim*
*Republic of Korea*

HERITAGE and *history* are indispensably related to each other with a special connection, however, they have played quite different roles and purposes. History can be interpreted differently according to historical and political attitudes and values. Also, conservation of heritage "is a complex and often controversial process that involves determinations about what constitutes heritage; how it is used, cared for, interpreted, and invested in; by whom and for whom" (Mason and Avrami 2002: 17). While Korea's time as a Japanese colonial possession ended more than sixty years ago (1945), the violence and injustices of the colonial period continue to be a powerful memory and to influence Korean politics, culture, and modern philosophy. Korean historians, architects, politicians, and the general public have frequently debated the validity of preserving colonial heritage built during the thirty-six years of Japanese rule (1910-1945). Two examples of colonial architectural heritage: the Joseon Government-General building and Seodaemun Prison are explored in this paper as especially instructive examples, demonstrating the South Korean government's inconsistent interpretation of Japanese colonial heritage.

## History of Sites

The Joseon Government-General building was built by the Japanese government in 1926 in front of the Gyeongbok palace, a political symbol of Joseon dynasty (1393-1910) in Seoul for the Japanese administrative and political control of the Korean Peninsula ( fig. 1). Japan used it as a headquarters for political surveillance and punishment of those who did not cooperate with their colonial rule. After independence (August 15, 1945), the Joseon Government-General building continued to serve in a variety of modern functions, as, successively, the office of the US Military government (1945), capital hall of the South Korean government (1948-1961), and the National Museum of Korea (1986-1995). It was dismantled on August 15, 1995.

Figure 1. Main facade of the Japanese Government-General building before complete disman-tlement in 1995.

Seodaemun Prison was built in 1908 by the Japanese architect Shitenno Kazuma and was originally called Gyeongseong (modern-day, Seoul) prison, accommodating 500 inmates. Its name was changed to Seodaemun prison in 1912. During the colonial period, the building was notorious as a site of interrogation and torture of Korean anti-colonial activists. Many national leaders suffered and were executed there. Together with the Joseon Governmental-General building, it was a symbol of imperial oppression during the colonial era (fig. 2). After independence, it remained in continuous use as a Korean prison for both common criminals and political activists who opposed the dictatorship of the Korean government. Some 350,000 convicts were confined in Seodaemun Prison until the last convicts were transferred to Uiwang City in November 1987.

## Analysis of Management Policy

The Government-General building as an example of "Destructive Chauvinism." In August 1995, the South Korean government decided to dismantle the Joseon Government-General building as a part of a ceremony for the "Fiftieth Independence Day" since the end of Japanese colonial rule (fig. 3). When the final decision to dismantle the Joseon Government-General building was announced to the

Figure 2. The landscape of Seodaemun Prison. It is currently managed by Seodaemun District Office.

public, opinion was clearly divided. Some thought that the building should be removed to raise national spirit and restore the original condition of Gyeongbok palace. Others believed that the building should be maintained since it had historic significance as evidence of "National Disgrace" and "Reflection of the Past" for future generations. In the end, however, the press, the ultra-right wing organizations, and nationalists succeeded in swaying public opinion to favor carrying out dismantlement and reconstruction of Gyeongbok palace. They announced in a "written resolution" to the public that "...the destruction of Japanese colonial heritage like Joseon Government-General building is a national project to symbolically raise the Korean flag instead of the Japanese one at the courtyard of Gyeongbok palace." (Korea Liberation Association 1993). One by one, architectural parts were gradually dismantled and completely removed in 1996. Some decorative architectural elements such as the main dome were relocated to the outdoor museum-Independent Memorial Park.

The dismantlement of the Joseon Government-General building demonstated the Korean hostility toward the colonial heritage. One critic described the destruction at that time, saying that the government officers were "intoxicated with the joy of destructive 'victory'" over this ultimate vestige of Japanese imperialism (Hong Sajung, 1999:249). Ignoring in part other suggestions

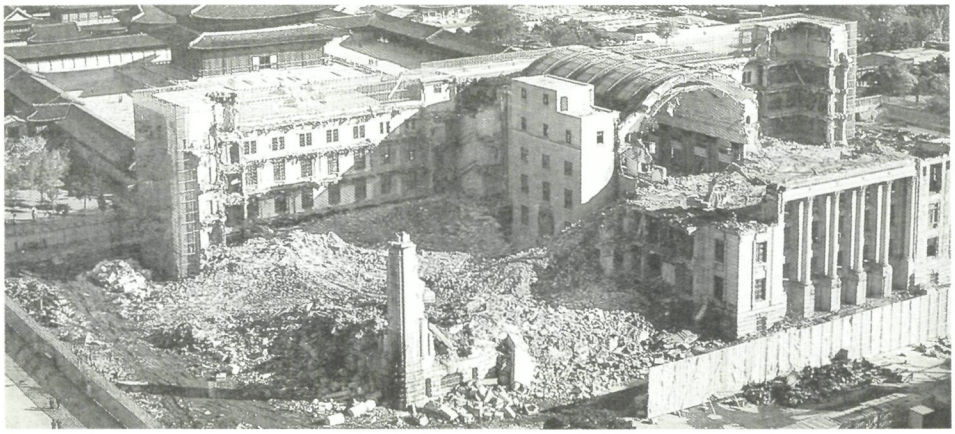
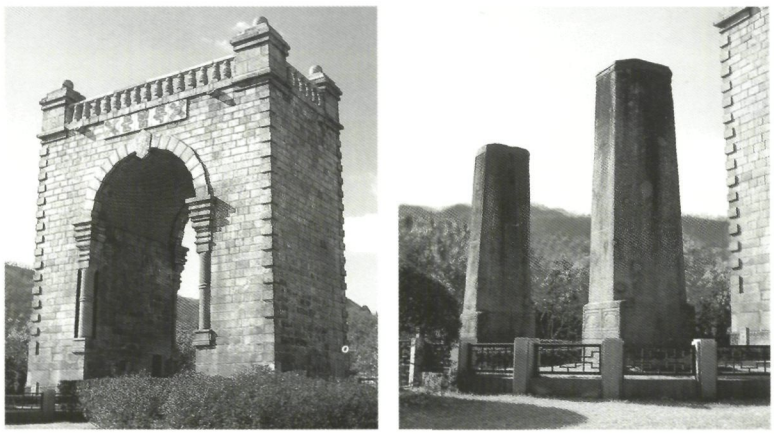


Figure 3. Destruction of Joseon Government-General building in 1995-6 based on the political policy of "correction of Korea's history" by removing colonial heritage.

to preserve the building as historical evidence, the government accelerated the reconstruction of Gyeongbok palace on the empty site. As the French newspaper *Le Figaro* described it, this seemed to be a declaration of "revenge for the Koreans' past tragedy." (1995)

***Seodaemun Prison and Independence Park***: Sacred Precinct for National Consciousness. In February 1988, Seodaemun prison was redesigned and designated as a National Historic Site (No.324). After restoration in May 1989, it was dedicated on the occasion of commemorating the "47th Independence Day"



Figures 4a & 4b. Independence Gate (Doknipmun) and base stones for the Yeong'eun Gate at Independence Park.

on August 15, 1992. The South Korean government's "Planning of Independence Park as Sacred Precinct" was carried out and Independence Park was opened in 1995 with the Seodaemun Prison complex and two other historic properties: the Independence Gate (No.32) and Yeong'eun gate's base stones (No.33). Both relate to another bitter story of Korea's Independence (symbols of the Joseon dynasty's independence from the political control of an ancient Chinese dynasty). This "collection" of different historic memories with vague historic theme of "Independence and Korea's struggles" made the identity of Independence Park unclear (fig. 4).

Needless to say, current interpretation at the site mostly consists of two contradictory stories: Korean activities toward independence in colonial era on the one hand, and Japanese torture and oppression on the other. The stories related to the earlier Joseon heritage on the site seem to be subsidiary to the powerful issue of Japanese colonialism. Seodaemun Prison was restored as a patriotic showcase to exhibit the Koreans' sorrow and to condemn the Japanese actions. Interestingly, political demonstrations related to modern Korean-Japanese national issues are frequently held at Independence Park and at the annual public Independence ceremonies (fig. 5). With these types of public participation censuring the unbounded cruelty of the Japanese during the colonial era, Independence Park has become a powerful ideological place representing Korea's antagonism toward Japanese violence.


Figure 5. Political demonstrations against Japanese Minister Goizmi's visit to Seodaemun Prison in front of Independence Gate at Independence Park in October 2001.

## Looking For the Diverse Values of Seodaemun Prison

***Negative vs. Positive Memory***. "Historical knowledge consists of transmissions in which the sender, the signal, and the receiver all are variable elements affecting the stability of the message" (Kubler 1962:21). With this interpretive sense of history, the two case studies described above clearly show the contradictory receiver's attitudes of the South Korean government toward its colonial heritage. The South Korean government applied its "National" ideology to interpret both sites. In other words, the current interpretation is based on the very simple dichotomy of the sites as that of "Victimizers" for the Government-General building and of "Victims" for the Seodaemun prison. National ideological and symbolic values emphasized a priority for a "yes" or "no" process among the public concerning colonial heritage. In most cases, the "Psychological horror and anti-emotions" reminded the public of their being "Victims" and of past sorrow in the Japanese colonial era. Unlike Joseon Government-General building, Seodaemun Prison could survive ironically thanks to its current use as an effective communication method rooted in Korea's national ideology and the public's negative memory of Japanese rule.

***Lost In Memory (post 1945)***. The dismantlement of Joseon Government-General building was accomplished mostly with the silent agreement of the public due to the political and intersocial influences on the preservation policies for other colonial heritage. The significant issue on this "physical conviction" about colonial memory was its one-sided assessment of historic values. Considering post-1945

Figures 6a & 6b.Public revolutionary upheaval against Korean government's dictatorship on April 19, 1960 and the military forces in front of the capital hall (Government-General building) under the military martial law on October 26, 1973.

history which also significantly influenced the current social and political situation of modern Korea, both buildings should also have been considered significant historic places clearly showing the modern history of Korea's political "turmoil" and "democratization" process after 1945. However, the post-1945 history was ignored and purposely not high-lighted on the value assessment for both examples of colonial heritage (fig. 6).

Analyzing socio-psychological aspects of the current management philosophy of Seodaemun Prison, David Lowenthal's comment on Hobsbawm's analysis of the abuse of history for chauvinist causes (Lowenthal, 1998) can suggest a comprehensive idea of the inconsistent interpretations of the two historic sites.

> *Myth and invention are essential to the politics of identity. As poppies are the raw material for heroin addiction, history is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies. [Heritage] is an essential element, perhaps the essential element in these ideologies. (Lowenthal 1998: 89)*

Though the stories about post-1945 inmates at Seodaemun Prison can tell of another "sadness" that Koreans should know in their history of modern politics, it would be a kind of "uncomfortable" memory which could potentially depreciate Independence Park's sacred theme: inspiring "National Pride" and "Consciousness" among the public. However, another type of "tragedy" occurred in the process of interpretation of the Seodaemun prison and resulted in a biased assessment of the site. As Adam Bohnet pointed out in his essay concerning the absence of the post 1945's history in Seodaemun Prison, the "distortions of history' are more harmful to the distorters than to the distorted." (2005).

***Current Management Policy on Colonial Heritage.*** Due to the continuous destruction and heavy pressure from property developers, the Korean government decided in 1995 to implement an incentive program to promote preservation of modern heritage with financial support for restoration, reform of architectural regulations, and tax relief (or tax cuts) for registered modern heritage. Yet since the current registration system does not have actual legal force to preserve modern heritage owned by private individuals, it has proven to be ineffective for preservation. In addition, colonial heritage properties are closely related to sensitive political and ideological issues between Korea and Japan. Therefore, unfortunately, much colonial heritage has been torn down or, in extremely rare

cases, relocated to other places that lack historical context. In this sense, Seodaemun Prison is an exceptional case of a well-preserved and financially managed modern cultural property.

## Comprehensive Site Management & Community-Based Interpretation

***Case Studies: Port Arthur and Eastern State Penitentiary***. The Port Arthur historic site in Australia is a good example of how the historical convict experience can be properly interpreted with balanced attitudes through the holistic interpretation of an era and reuse of the site for communicative purposes with the public. Port Arthur is of particular interest because it has been managed for over one hundred years as a heritage site based on the continuous interpretation process of the site's entire significance, including convict life and the post-convict era as well as the 28 April, 1996 murder of thirty five people at the site.

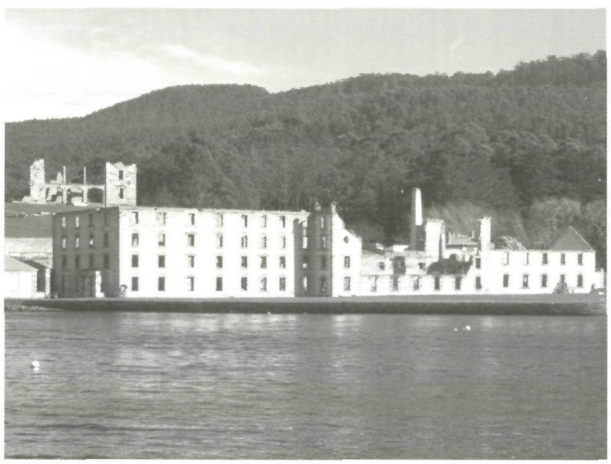


Figure 7. Current landscape of penitentiary at Port Arthur, Australia.

Port Arthur began in 1830 as a small timber station. The British government decided to send convicts to the colonial Port Arthur to use their labor for industrial manufacturing. In particular, the Asylum opened in 1868 was used to accommodate the convicts as a British colonial penitentiary for forty-seven years. Even though the site was created as a part of "Negative" history in Tasmania (Australia), management planning of the site has been gradually updated with more positive memories focused on historic community life since 1877 when Port Arthur's penal settlement closed. The conservation planning successfully covered

the beginning of the settlement in 1830 as well as the so-called "post convict era" and the most recent history. Currently, tourists can learn about the continuous story of Port Arthur's communities and historic places as well as the 'sad' historical experiences at the Asylum and the Broad Arrow Café, site of the 1996 murders (fig. 7).

Figure 8. Landscape of the ESP's entrance gate for Audio Tour.

Taking a different approach from Port Arthur, the Eastern State Penitentiary (hereafter ESP) suggests another idea of how historic sites cherishing "forgotten" and "abandoned" memories can be dramatically changed for contemporary communities based on more comprehensive management programs. ESP was built in 1829 as one of the biggest and most expensive penitentiaries in the United States. It functioned as a prison until 1971. In 1980, the City of Philadelphia purchased the site intending to reuse or redevelop the site. For a city government, ESP was just an unpleasant place to remove for its urban renewal. Yet the initial municipal government redevelopment plan was deemed inappropriate and the ESP Task Force, a group of architects, preservationists and historians, instead won the right to preserve the site. In 1994, they opened the penitentiary to the public with guided interpretative tours (fig. 8). There have been several restorations using various approaches to reuse and stabilize the site which have been continuously and successfully tried since 1991. One of the outstanding achievements at ESP is that their interpretation methodology is not based on "dark" and "horrible" history, but rather they try to pay attention to voluntary participation programs

from the public which consequently benefits by communicating the building's history and also mobilizes public financial support to sustain and stabilize the ruined structures. ESP's public programs include various artists' installations, movie screenings, annual members' photo contest using restored penitentiary facilities and civic festivals such as Bastille Day, Easter, and Thanksgiving (even though they are not directly related to the history of the site) (fig. 9). With these kinds of activities, ESP contributes to society as a functional "place" based on active community participation. Through this voluntary involvement, the public also gains historical knowledge about the site itself and better understanding how the building was designed and how it has changed over time.

Figure 9. Community festival celebrating 'Bastille Day' at the ESP site.

***Toward the Comprehensive Management of Seodaemun Prison.*** Regardless of different historical backgrounds, sense of sadness, and architectural scale, these two foreign penitentiary sites suggest potential possibilities for a different interpretation of Seodaemun Prison. The holistic interpretation of a site's history including the most recent tragedy at the Port Arthur community clearly shows how a historic site can create different kinds of values interacting in the continuity of site history. New layers of different values and contemporary meaning can be focused on various interpretive historic elements. In a sense of "reuse of heritage in contemporary life", ESP clearly shows how a historic site can interact with the current community, leading the community to understand the site's history through voluntary participation instead of official inculcation. In this sense, ESP can be seen as a successful case that reinvents its historical image of "fear" and

"melancholy" into an enjoyable and sympathetic historical experience, and a lively place with public-friendly interpretation in spite of occasional scholarly criticism of its methods of history making. Needless to say, the historical truth and physical authenticity of Seodaemun prison should be respected without any distortion or false additions. To overcome Korea's painful history, it is necessary to take all the historical layers into consideration in the process of value assessment not only for the Seodaemun's comprehensive future plans but also for the other surviving examples of colonial heritage in Korea.

## Conclusion: Where Should Korea Go for Seodaemun Prison and other Colonial heritage Regarding a Future Beyond the "Sadness"?

> *Nationalism tends to treat itself as a manifest and self-evident principle, accessible as such to all men, and violated only through some perverse blindness, when in fact, it owes its plausibility and compelling nature only to a very special set of circumstances, which do indeed obtain now, but which were alien to most of humanity and history. (Gellner 1983: 125)*

Figure 10. Landscape of the Seoul Railroad Station. Japan also used this station as a main transportation hub to exploit colonial Korean peninsula. It was remodeled for a Railroad History Museum for the public.

The real value of Korea's colonial heritage is not recreating the feeling of being victimized by Japan, instead, such heritage properties can show a reliable picture of what happened at the site, thus giving a better sense of historical knowledge. In particular, the interpretation of Seodaemun Prison should deal with "hidden" modern memories in this sense of historic continuity in order that Korea not make another mistake, and transmit this balanced historic reality to future generations. Even though this paper discussed only two colonial sites in Korea, most of the other remaining colonial heritage properties are currently struggling and facing a similar choice between "disappearance" for a new era's paradigm or "survival" with unsound or in some cases, politically purified (or neutral) status (fig.10).

The contradictory experiences of these two colonial heritage sites raise the following questions: What criteria should we use when judging and guiding such a site's preservation or destruction? How can these sites be preserved as public places with proper interpretation of historical sorrow? As stated in the ICOMOS Ename Charter, "Interpretation is considered to be the public explanation or discussion of a cultural heritage site, encompassing its full significance, multiple meanings and values" (2005). Interpretation of site values should include all kinds of historical information throughout its entire existence – including its recent historical context and significance, and not unduly highlighting a specific era or incident. Korea's dilemma of colonial heritage can be compared to the two-sides of a coin between "restoration" of Korea's historical continuity and "elimination" of historical evidence in its valuation and management process.

Now is the time to re-evaluate Japanese colonial heritage not only as a dark vestige in Korea's memory and a cautionary lesson for the future, but also as a place to contain various values. Colonial heritage sites in Korea are currently facing scenarios in which they will disappear sooner or later as long as Koreans are still captured by feelings and memories of being victimized and as long as the government persists in utilizing the public's "sadness" and "despair" as singular reasons for its preservation policies without comprehensive interpretation and value assessment. It is certain that the past should be kept as a clear touchstone for the present. Who owns the past? The South Korean government still holds the crucial key for this question related to the existence of "their" colonial heritage.

## References

BOHNET A. 2005. Seodaemun Prison, *Korea Foundation Newsletter Vol 14*, 2.

GELLNER E. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca.

ICOMOS Ename Charter (2005). *Icomos Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites (Revised Third Draft)*, <www.enamecharter.org/downloads.html>, (Consulted May 2005).

KOREA LIBERATION ASSOCIATION 1993. *Committee's Written Resolution concerning the Request for the dismantlement of Joseon Government-General building*, Web magazine of Hangul Hak-hoe, <www.hangeul.or.kr/hnp/hss93/hs253_01.hwp>, (Consulted May 2005).

KUBLER G. 1962. *The Shape of Time*, New Haven.

LOWENTHAL D. 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, London.

MASON R. & AVRAMI E. 2002. Heritage Values and Challenges of Conservation Planning, In: Teutonico J.M. & Palumbo G. (eds), *Management Planning for Archaeological sites*, Los Angeles.

SA-JUNG H. 1998. *Do They Have Their Sense of Value?*, Seoul.

# FRANJA PARTISAN HOSPITAL DOLENJI NOVAKI (CERKNO), SLOVENIA

*Dusan Kramberger*
*Ministry of Culture, Republic of Slovenia*

THE Franja Partisan Hospital[1] is an ensemble of thirteen wooden cabins and several supporting and movable units squeezed in a narrow, barely accessible wild river gorge in Dolenji Novaki (lat: 46°09' N, lon: 14°02' E, alt: approximately 700 m) near Cerkno in mountainous Western Slovenia. On 22 January 1944 the management of the hospital was entrusted to the physician, Dr. Franja Bojc Bidovec, who, with some minor interruptions, directed the hospital until the end of World War II. The hospital itself was named colloquially after her. It operated from December 1943 to May 1945. To this day, this legendary hospital has preserved its authentic appearance and represents a symbol of the partisan medical service. It remains exceptional testimony of the humanity and resourcefulness of partisan physicians and other staff in the preservation of human lives.

In November 1943 the partisan units retreated to the Gorenjska region together with wounded soldiers from Cerkno, but unfortunately suffered severe casualties. The Slovenian Partisan Army headquarters supported the idea to build and run several small hospital units in the hidden locations instead of transporting wounded people along with the combat units. After returning to the Primorska region, the location for a hospital near Cerkno was proposed by Janez Peternelj, a local resident. The first cabin was built in the almost inaccessible Pasica river gorge and on 23 December 1943, the first wounded soldiers were admitted. Within a year the hospital in the Pasica gorge had as many as 11 cabins, including an X-ray cabin and a power plant.

The hospital's expansion was temporarily stopped by a German attack on 24 April 1944. Believing that they had been betrayed, the leaders decided to evacuate everyone, including 28 immobile patients, only returning to Pasica when it seemed safe. The staff then staged a fictitious fire and spread the word that the hospital had been destroyed. In reality from 22 June onward the hospital continued to operate without interruptions until the end of the war.

The most difficult moments in the Franja hospital were experienced in the spring of 1945 during the last enemy offensives in the Primorska region. On 24

March the Germans came very close to the hospital and the entire gorge was under heavy enemy fire. But the hospital remained untouched and survived the attack without casualties.

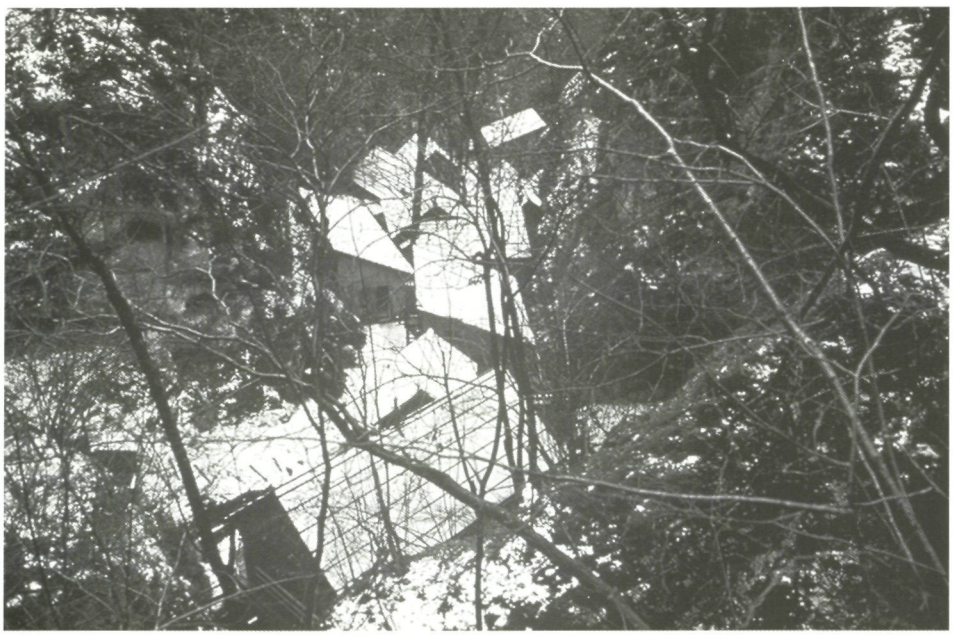


Figure 1. Franja Partisan Hospital.

The Franja partisan hospital was established as a central hospital facility for treating severely wounded and ill persons from the operating territory of the Slovene Partisan Army. It had a capacity of up to 120 patients. Several smaller units were scattered throughout the gorge. In the period from December 1943 to May 1945, as many as 522 patients of various nationalities (Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Frenchmen, Russians, Poles, Austrians, and Americans) were treated in Franja alone. Altogether some 1000 patients were treated in all the departments. Sixty-One (61) soldiers died from their injuries while at the hospital and were buried in a secret place just above the present-day path leading to the hospital. For easier identification, a small bottle containing a piece of paper with the deceased personal data was placed in graves alongside the dead.

The hospital functioned like a miniature village. The food and medical supplies were provided by the local inhabitants and the Partisan Supply Service. Its existence and successful operation depended on at least two factors:

1) preserving the secrecy of its location,
2) the faithful and reliable assistance of local inhabitants.

The hospital was never discovered by the enemy. To ensure maximum secrecy, the patients were admitted at a checkpoint near Pasice village and blindfolded before being carried into the gorge. They were transported to the hospital only at night and exclusively by the hospital staff. For safety reasons, access to the cabins was along the streambed, and defense fortifications and hidden shelters for the wounded were built on steep rocky slopes.

Despite the very difficult conditions and the frequent need to perform very demanding surgical operations, the treatment of wounded persons was successful in most cases. Medicines and sanitary supplies were collected by field organizations and occasionally sent by western Allies. Various orthopaedic accessories were made in the hospital's own workshops. A unique method was developed for sterilizing instruments and dressings.

The supply of other necessities of life was well organized and the hospital patients never experienced hunger. They were even offered entertainment, fresh news and cultural events. From May 1944 onwards they issued their own bulletin, entitled "Bolniski list" (Patient's Bulletin).

On 5 May 1945 the war was ending and the hospital staff and 98 patients left the hospital for good. In the decades following the Second World War, the Franja Partisan Hospital continued to arouse interest in local communities and attracted visitors from all continents.

## Conservation Efforts

Considerable efforts and funds were needed to preserve the hospital in its authentic form through-out the past 60 years. For example, in January, 1989 an enormous avalanche thundered into the gorge causing an extensive devastation. The mass of rock dammed the Cerinscica stream, threatening to flood the cabins and their contents in the event of prolonged rainfall. All the contents of the cabins were evacuated and moved to the Museum in Cerkno. The access route to the hospital was buried and the first three cabins demolished; many others damaged but were completely restored. The hospital was reopened to the public in June, 1990.

The Idrija Municipal Museum (http://www.muzej-idrija-cerkno.si/) has taken the responsibility for Franja's maintenance and restoration. Thanks to the enormous endeavours of the Museum personnel and the contributions of many individuals, societies and organizations from all parts of Slovenia, neighbouring countries and abroad, this unique cultural monument has been preserved as a remembrance and a reminder to present and future generations.

Franja Partisan Hospital is nowadays a state monument and the national site of conscience. It honours the humanitarian values of the neighbour people, medical and support staff, and those who supplied and defended the hospital risking their lives during World War II. In 1997 the hospital received an acknowledgement from the American Association of Pilots Saved during the War in recognition of its assistance to American pilot Harold Adams. In 2000, the hospital was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List.

## Endnote

1 The historical information in this presentation is based on the text prepared by the Idrija Municipal Museum (http://www.muzej-idrija-cerkno.si/).

# LUBYA, ISRAEL: ON CONSERVATION AND MEMORY

*Shmuel Groag*
*Icomos Israel*

LUBYA is not a place that appears on official maps or any road signs in the north of Israel. Nonetheless this is a place and a memory site for two communities. The first is the Palestinian community in Israel and in the Palestinioan diaspora that remembers the village as its birthplace – a place of origin, a place of return. The second is the Jewish community which forms the majority of the population in Israel. It regards the place as a recreational site and uses it for other memorial activities.

The village of Lubya is located on the road between Nazareth and Tiberias in the north of Israel. In 1948, the 2730 inhabitants of the village that lived in more than 400 houses were uprooted from their land and houses. From one day to the next they became what the late Edward Said called the "Nowhere People." Today they and their descendants live in more than 12 countries including Israel. Lubya has been totally demolished. In its stead, on the 9790 acres (about 3962 hectares) that the village owned, is now a forest of pine trees named ''Yaar Lavie", Kibbutz Lavie, Givaat Avni and the Golani industrial area (Khalidi 1992, Issa n.d.).

This paper will explore the possibility of developing a new "multi layer" planning concept for the contested areas. Such a concept can be adopted by planners if they seek to contest official hegemonic conservation politics. Using practical tools emerging from the profession of conservation, such as multi-narrative, oral and physical documentation can be very significant in promoting reconciliation desperately needed in contested areas.

Conservation, as well as other fields of architecture and planning, has lost its social role in recent decades. Investment of primary effort in the materialistic professional approach concerning the right materials, the right details, and the optimum physical solutions, has left behind the social aspects of memory and conservation. The systematic physical approach to conservation ignores the narration of human histories and memories of the sites in question. This is particularly apparent in contested areas, where a technical attitude can produce fully detailed conservation projects, that however come to ignore, if not even suppress alternative memories and narratives.

## Dual Narration

The site of Lubya is a good example of a site possessing "Dual Narratives" that are so typical of many places that replaced, or were built over Palestinian villages or towns.

The Palestinian narrative is based on the concept of return, the return to the lost place which is now romanticized as a lost paradise. For the generation of refugees that left in 1947-48, the village with its daily routines and history is still alive. Successive generations regard the village not as a memory site but as a vivid place that might or should be rebuilt. From this point of view, the realm of memory site is an ideal for the future rather than an "official" narrative in its focus on the idea of return.

The Palestinian community of the displaced people of Lubya in Israel and abroad, (especially in Denmark) collect written and oral information and visit the site on holidays, establishing social patterns that are subversive in regard to the hegemonic regime in Israel. The "Day of Independence '' of the State of Israel, which for the Palestinians is the "Nakba day" ("Day of Disaster", since it commemorates the catastrophe of 1948 for the Palestinians), is usually comprised of walks and picnics in the destroyed village. What emerges is a different way in which the site is seen. In one case it is remembered as something that has been irretrievably lost, in the other it is seen as site which still exists today. The concept of the site of "return" is opposed to the concept of site of memory, the idea of memorializing the village in the standard way by using signs or memorial stones for example, could be even interpreted by the Palestinian community as a renouncing of the right of return.

The Israeli-Zionist, semi-official narration of the site of Lubya is given by the Jewish National Fund, an agency dealing with land development, reforestation, and park management who describe the place in its brochure as the "Lavie forest," a recreational area bearing the name of the ancient Talmudic Jewish settlement named Lubya. In the chapter "From the Mishna Period to the War of Independence" the references to Lubya in the Talmud are cited. The later Palestinian village is pointedly mentioned as not "missing a chance" to attack Jewish transportation and intimidating all the settlements in the Lower Galilee during the 1947-48 War of Independence.

This link in history between the ancient history of the Land of Israel and the Zionist epic of national revival, is a key element in the construction of the new Jewish nation. In order to construct a national Jewish culture, archaeology and other rituals of "Social Memory" (Connerton 1989) are used to reinforce the link

between the new nation and the ancient biblical period (Attias and Benbassa 2003: 181), as if there is a direct linkage in time from the biblical period, when the nation enjoyed a full political and cultural life, to the period of Zionist renewal, thereby erasing the whole period in between.

The new Israeli Jewish identity is constructed on a double negation: what is negated is on the one hand the Jewish Diaspora (Attias and Benbassa 2003: 179), and on the other, the Arab and the Orient, where Israel is physically located. In this construction, the Arab history of the site is usually ignored or regarded as an historical obstacle, as in the case of Lubya.

Another memory site lies just on the other side of the forest on the major road junction. There in the 1950s, a public space was developed which included first, a national memorial site of the Golani Brigade with a museum, and later, a McDonalds restaurant. The Golani Brigade memorial site was constructed to remember the death of 21 soldiers who were killed in 1948 in the fight over the village of Lubya. The later initiative to build on the same site a McDonalds restaurant raised a debate within the Israeli public on the issue whether a commercial enterprise should be built on a memorial site. A compromise was found. The logo of McDonalds – the Golden Arches – that was place on top of a high col-umn was replaced with the emblem of the Golani Brigade. Analysis of this site proves that it is now a contested area for the Jewish population itself. This contest is between national memory and private commercial initiatives both fighting for attention of the public.

## "Multi-layer" Planning Attitude and Documentation file

In order to change a hegemonic discourse, a new attitude and new techniques have to be developed. What has to change first is the planner's attitude toward complex sites like Lubya. The role of the planner in the network of conservation is similar to what Foucault called being the "specific intellectual," the one who can suggest an option of changing a discourse by proposing a different attitude to the idea of planning and memory. The planner should have the ability to look at contested narratives in the same way as Walter Benjamin could look at the Paris in the 19th century: namely the gaze can be both from the inside and from the outside in order to capture its complexity.

The concept of a multi-layer perspective means that each site would be regarded through all its viewpoints and narratives, and that each decision taken will be regarded in a hybrid multi-layered attitude. Dealing with a site like Lubya,

the question will be: is there a way to take the multi-narrative attitude into account and, if not, then maybe the right decision would be to refrain from doing anything at all and leave the issue to be dealt with by future generations.

The complex meaning of a site is also discussed in Christine Boyer's book *The City of Collective Memory*, where she says that spectators prefer the safety of representational order; they cannot tolerate long open – ended site plans and abstract symbol systems, yet viewing history as a series of narrative representations necessarily implies that history "will be rewritten and realigned for specific concerns" (1994: 377). To write history we should always be aware (as Walter Benjamin reminds us) that "history is a need for redemption from a conformism that is about to overpower it in order to erase its differences and turn it into an accepted narration. Historical phenomena portrayed as 'heritage' are cultural treasures of art carried by the authorities in every triumphal march, and these treasures reek of omissions and suppressions" (quoted in Boyer 1994: 377).

As a result of a hybrid multi-layer perspective, another practical tool of conservation, the documentation file has to take a new form. The new type of documentation file should contain all possible material concerning the site in order to enable a future reader to get a general picture of the daily life in the village, and deal with its physical structure combined with personal memories. The documentation in the case of Lubya should be based on three basic sources. First, oral histories collected by the Palestinian people dispossessed from Lubya, now living in Israel and abroad. Second, published documents from Israel and abroad; and third, physical documentation on the site such as maps, aerial photos and photographs comparing the past situation with the present one. These tools of conservation have not only a historical importance but also a symbolic role. They give the Palestinian memory its recognition, by what Lacan would call inscribing it in the "symbolic order." The reconstruction of the memory that has been lost, denied and repressed can be inspired by Freud's concept of the need of reconciliation with the repressed in order to create some healing effects.

Lubya is not a unique site of conscience; the processes of its conservation and memory are relevant to hundreds other places in Israel, and the healing effect is needed in the whole Israeli society. The awareness of dual narration is needed everywhere but the question is: Can the practices of conservation create some change in the realm of contested memories?

## References

CONNERTON P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

ISSA M. n.d. Lubya, A. *Palestinian Village in the Middle East- Historiography, Culture and Identity*, Copenhagen.

KHALIDI W. 1992. *All that Remains: The Palestinian villages occupied and depopulated by Israel in 1948*, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, D.C.

ATTIAS J.C. & BENBASSA E. 2003. *Israel the Impossible Land*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, C.A.

BOYER C. 1994. *The City of Collective Memory*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

# WHY 'LEARNING FROM THE PAST' IS NOT AS SIMPLE AS THAT. PERSPECTIVES FROM THE BATTLEFIELD SITE OF DYBBØL, DENMARK

*Mads Daugbjerg*
*University of Aarhus, Denmark*

JUST north of the present-day Danish-German border, the mill at Dybbøl marks the site of the Danish defeat to Prussian forces on 18 April 1864. From a Danish national perspective, the site symbolizes the loss of lives, territory and European political ambitions. From a German national perspective, the battle has been viewed as a first step in a series of victories leading to the formation of the German empire (Adriansen 2003). In addition to these two national "readings", the site seems to support a range of alternative local and regional interpretations (Dragsbo 2004; Rasmussen 2005).

This case study concerns a dispute over interpretation forms at the *Battlefield Centre* opened at Dybbøl in 1992. I shall argue that a set of ambitious expansionist plans from the Centre and the ensuing dispute may serve in discussing the site of conscience (SoC) concept. Perhaps I shall learn that the concept is simply ill-suited for sites like the Battlefield Centre at Dybbøl. However, since many of the "conscientious" characteristics seem to exist there – meaningless deaths, cruelty, imposed de-nationalisation, etc. – it could also be that my study points to some weaknesses, or at least limitations, inherent in the SoC concept as such. I shall therefore round off my presentation with a short set of questions directed at discussing this very concept.

## The Dybbøl Story

The complex political context leading up to the 1864 war between Denmark and what was about to become Germany shall not be discussed in detail here. Suffice it to say that the Danish government (in what is often referred to as an act of overvaluation of its own power) decided to break a treaty according to which the southernmost duchies of the Danish state, Schleswig and Holstein, were assured a special status and connection to the German Federation. This breach led to a declaration of war from Austria and Prussia, the two leading powers of the Federation, and eventually to the decisive battle at Dybbøl.

The battle – resulting in the loss of some 3,000 lives (on both sides), Denmark's loss of one third of its territory and the forced de-nationalisation of thousands of former Danish citizens – has over time, and in different guises, been mobilised in the service of both Danish and German nation-building (Adriansen 2003). Attempts to "clarify" its ambiguous symbolism, such as the Battlefield centre's efforts summarized below, are therefore subject to criticism and resistance from a range of different "stakeholders" (Howard 2003).

## The Battlefield Centre: Facts and Numbers

The Historiecenter Dybbøl Banke was opened in 1992, initiated by private funding and aiming at commercial survival without public support. An estimated annual visitor number of 100,000 was anticipated and needed to secure its survival on market conditions. However, these estimates turned out to be wildly optimistic, and today the centre is attracting a more modest amount of 40,000 visitors in the region per year.

As a footnote, this disappointing amount of annual visitors (40,000) rather accurately equals the decline in annual visitor numbers at the nearby Museum at Sønderborg Castle, thus killing optimistic hopes for a "synergetic" effect according to which the two institutions were to benefit mutually from each other's presence (Rasmussen 2005). The Castle museum is the regional, state-approved (and subsidized) museum of cultural history, staffed by experts on the Danish-German relationship and in the use of national symbols. It was to play a key part in the ensuing dispute.

As a consequence of its disappointing visitor figures, and despite its ambitious plans, the Battlefield Centre has from the outset been dependent on public support, receiving in the area of €70,000 annually from municipal and county authorities. On top of this, the Centre at present receives an annual appropriation of another €70,000 from the Danish Ministry of Education, earmarked for educational activities for schoolchildren (this appropriation is to be renegotiated every 3 years). The Centre's own earnings come to a total of €215,000 annually, thus generating around 60% of its total institutional revenue.

## Warring over the Nature of War

The dispute over the Battlefield Centre was set off by a set of ambitious expansionist plans presented by the Centre in 1998. Attempting to address in particular the

Danish youth's alleged indifference to history, a four-stage expansion project was put forth. The aims of the project, which included a number of large full-scale reconstructions of the Danish 1864 fortifications, were to communicate to the public the "conditions of war, conflict, and peace work" and to offer a "unique perspective on the present in the light of the past" (my translations from Rasmussen 2005). Thus, reconstructions, exhibition halls and re-enactment activities were to provide today's youth with lessons on the general nature of war, on the basis of the 1864 events at Dybbøl.

Protests quickly arose from many different sides. Most significantly for my purposes, the curators of the aforementioned museum at Sønderborg Castle, just down the road – which of course boasts its own exhibition on the Danish-German wars and relations – levelled a sharp criticism against the plans, accusing the History Centre of (among other things):

- harming the authenticity of the landscape, by wishing to reconstruct Danish fortifications at a spot where they had never actually stood;
- reproducing stereotypical images of Germans as aggressors and Danes as victims, by planning on letting children operate rifles in a shooting gallery;
- indulging in emotional exploitation of the past, by planning on constructing a hall for reflection with models of dead soldiers;
- trivializing the specificity of the 1864 events, by attempting to draw explicit parallels to present conflicts, specifically the Balkan wars of the 1990s.

To some extent, these can be read as accusations of bad historical craftsmanship; i.e. with the experts arguing that the complexity of historical events were not sufficiently communicated in the plans. However, it is also evident that the basic aim of the Centre – to draw "lessons" from the 1864 events regarding the nature of war – was called into question by the museum curators. Not only were they accusing the Centre of trivialization and far-fetched historical parallels, they were also questioning the very legitimacy of Centre, its assumption that the particulars of the past can teach us general lessons on the nature of war.

In terms of the Ename Colloquium's examination of the SoC concept, the Danish Battlefield centre's aim of "learning from the past" can be seen as a parallel to the colloquium workshop's ambition of the "opening of new conversations about contemporary issues" in the light of the past's "great good or great evil"

(citing the colloquium coordinators). Before I delve into this discussion on the Sites of Conscience concept, I would like to briefly outline some conclusions of the Dybbøl dispute.

Following a heated debate in local and national media, it was decided to let the Danish consul general in Flensburg (who is also a historian) head an impartial inquiry on the matter. On the basis of his recommendations, the local politicians eventually decided to drastically downsize the project to encompass only the first of the four planned stages, i.e. the full-size construction of a small part of the Danish entrenchments and barracks – work scheduled tobe completed in 2006. It was also decided to allow the museum at Sønderborg Castle, whose critical curators I referred to above, to take over the responsibility of the operation of the History Centre. One might say that the running of the Centre, somewhat paradoxically perhaps, is now in the hands of its sharpest critics.

## Dybbøl as a Site of Conscience? Some Discussion Points

What does this brief study tell us? One of course may simply dismiss the case by stating that Dybbøl cannot be classified as a SoC. Even though it does not hold the universal symbolism of, for example, the Holocaust or Apartheid and the clear good/evil dichotomization of these phenomena, one could argue that it is a site of traumatic or "conscientious" memories of deaths and loss, in the view of some people, at least.

However, it is not my intention to turn this into a categorization contest. Instead, and even if we decide not to label Dybbøl a SoC, I believe that the dispute highlights a range of relevant questions about the very idea of SoC, bearing in mind the criticism of the museum curators against the History Centre's ambitions of generalization. Clearly there exists a range of differing professional views on how to go about interpreting conscientious heritage.

To sum up this case study, I therefore offer the following discussion points, which may serve in critically assessing, perhaps even challenging, the SoC concept:

- Does the SoC concept necessitate a clear definition of (who are) good and evil?
- How are SoCs to avoid trivialization when extrapolating from specific historic events to general issues of oppression, violence and human rights?

- Is local resentment over trivialization a price to be paid in order to communicate general issues to "outsiders"?
- What is the role of emotions in SoC interpretation?
- If we acknowledge different groups' rights to perceive "heritage" in their own terms, where does this leave the SoC concept?
- Is there an expiry date of SoCs – are 20th century atrocities more apt for "conscientious" interpretation than earlier historical events?

## References

ADRIANSEN I. 2003. Dybbøl og 1864, In: *Adriansen I., Nationale symboler i det danske rige 1830-2000, bd. 2*, Museum Tusculanums forlag, Copenhagen, 245-275.

DRAGSBO P. 2004. Dybbøl. Et erindringssted skifter driftsherre. Journalen, *Lokal- og kulturhistorisk tidsskrift, no.1*, 2004, 26-30.

HOWARD P. 2003. *Heritage. Management, Interpretation, Identity*, Continuum, London & New York. .

RASMUSSEN R. 2005. "Den forstærkede Dybbølfortælling" – kulturarvsformidling eller underholdning?, In: Adriansen I. & Dragsbo P. (eds), *Sønderjysk kulturarv. Sønderjyske Museer 2003-2004*, Museumsrådet for Sønderjyllands Amt, Sønderborg, 105-110.

# INCLUSIVE PUBLIC INTERPRETATION

# TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE PUBLIC HERITAGE

*John H. Jameson, Jr.*
*National Park Service, USA*

THE subject of inclusiveness is among the most contentious and problematic in present-day discussions about heritage interpretation.[1] There are many, often overlapping, roadblocks to inclusiveness involving cultural, political, economic, and social factors. It can seem hopeless in a wide variety of sites and settings: Can Jerusalem, for example, ever be interpreted in a way that we can describe as inclusive to all, or even to a majority, of stakeholders?

The U.S. National Park Service (NPS) Interpretive Development Program (IDP) has, since the 1990s, encouraged the stewardship of park resources by facilitating meaningful, memorable visitor experiences. Before IDP, training for NPS interpreters included a detailed introduction to significant names, dates, and references to important books. Often this introduction was coupled with an exercise in writing a personal definition of interpretation. The IDP approach incorporates many important aspects of these methods but with a strengthened sense of individual responsibility: professional interpreters are trained to search for understanding the process of interpretation in fostering resource stewardship. NPS interpreters are expected to be able to articulate the outcomes of interpretation in order to make personal choices in approach and establish the relevance of interpretation for resource decision-makers (NPS IDP 2006).

The IDP program is based on a precept that effective interpretation moves beyond a recitation of scientific data, chronologies, and descriptions. The program recognizes that the ultimate role of interpretation is to support conservation by facilitating public recognition and support of resource stewardship. This is accomplished by facilitating opportunities for visitors to forge linkages with resource meanings that contribute to the development of a stewardship ethic. Based on the philosophy that people will care *for* what they first care *about*, the program aims for the highest standards of professionalism. It includes mission-based training and curriculum development, field-developed national standards for interpretive effectiveness, a peer review certification program, and developmental tools and resources. It provides professional standards and course of study curricula for

employees and has trained a cadre of employee certifiers to evaluate skills and competencies among professional interpreters. The IDP program emphasizes inclusiveness by using delivery modes and techniques tailored to the backgrounds and identities of multicultural and multivocal target audiences and communities, as well as other constituent stakeholders (NPS IDP 2006).

When we contemplate the challenges posed by the study and commemoration of heritage places within modern multicultural societies, we step into a complicated maze of terminology and semantics centered on international debates about relevance and conscience, as well as cross-cultural and international priority and appropriateness. We come to the table with developing, and sometimes divergent, assumptions and purposes for site commemoration and treatment. While no country or region in the world practices or exhibits multiculturalism in the same manner, most of the these conversations are occurring in countries from the Western cultural tradition, or, at least, the terminology used in these discussions stems from the predominately Western ideas of equal treatment, ethnic sensitivity, and accounting for multiple points of view, which are constantly and openly debated. Many categories used in heritage site management, such as national park, national monument, and world heritage site, are notions of commemoration originating in the West. I mention this only to remind ourselves that, as we enter into discussions of international and universal relevance, we need to be cautious to avoid terminology that can appear, to a non-Westerner, to be patronizing and insensitive.

Multiculturalism is one of those terms that are difficult to describe definitively, but it is important in our discussions here in that it describes the general socio-political environment that is necessary for public policy in managing cultural diversity in multiethnic societies, stressing mutual respect and tolerance for cultural differences within a country's or region's borders. As a policy, multiculturalism emphasizes the unique characteristics of different cultures, especially as they relate to one another within national boundaries. Multiculturalism is a view, or policy, that immigrants, and other groups, should preserve their cultures with the different cultures interacting peacefully within one nation. This has been the official policy of Australia, Canada, and the UK. Multiculturalism has been described as preserving a "cultural mosaic" of separate ethnic groups, and is contrasted to a "melting pot" that mixes them, the United States commonly being given as an example of a melting pot. Some use the term multiculturalism differently, describing both the melting pot, and the "cultural mosaic" condition, such as in Canada, as being multicultural and refer to "pluralistic" vs. "particularist"

multi-culturalism. Pluralistic multiculturalism, similar to the melting pot concept, views each culture or sub-culture in a society as contributing unique and valuable cultural aspects to the whole culture. Particularist multiculturalism is more concerned with preserving the distinctions between cultures. Probably no country falls completely into one, or another, of these categories.

The nature of the reality of multiculturalism in any one country or region affects public policies and attitudes about inclusive heritage interpretation and where to focus the discussions; that is, what are the messages, and to whom are the messages directed?

In our deliberations regarding who owns the past and what constitutes inclusive public interpretation, we can couch our discussions within the framework of attempting to answer some fundamental questions. We cannot answer or resolve these questions today, or this week, but they certainly encompass some of the key issues: What constitutes an inclusive public heritage? The Ename Charter on Interpretation defines "inclusiveness" as that which seeks to ensure that the interpretation of a cultural heritage site is not merely a carefully scripted presentation prepared by outsiders, but should instead actively involve the participation of associated communities and other stakeholders. In all aspects of site commemoration and site management, whether these are interpretive programs, exhibits, physical maintenance activities, or the effects of heritage tourism, according to the Charter, an interpretation program must be seen as a community activity rather than something imposed by persons or institutions perceived to be outside the community. "Community" in this sense is simply a group or class having common interests, or likeness or identity. Communities include educational, professional, academic, governmental, descendant, and local. Communities are not discrete in that they can and do overlap. For example, members of a descendant community may also be part of the educational and the professional communities. In discussions of inclusiveness, our ideal for communities is that they be involved in participatory education and public interpretation where members of a community actively participate in developing, carrying out, delivering, or otherwise producing the program or elements of the program or interpretive product.

Other questions we might pose are "Does the term 'inclusive' connote democratic or equal treatment? How does it relate to, appeal to, and be available to, broad masses of people?" If we accept the assumption that some form of multiculturalism is a necessary backdrop for inclusiveness, our approaches to commemoration and public interpretation should follow an objective process

that seeks to identify the attributes, or values, inherent in the resource that make them important to people and therefore worthy of protecting, preserving, and celebrating.

In multicultural societies, how are standards of significance and authenticity promulgated and agreed upon, and how are they effectively formalized while accommodating multiple points of view? Once commemoration standards are formalized in terms of management strategies and oversight procedures, how are the values of immigrant and minority communities, as well as evolving values of the "majority" addressed and accommodated within the identification-commemoration process? And finally, are formally managed monuments and sites a reflection of a timeless ideal or a changing reality? Can these purposes co-exist?

## Values-based Management

One approach that seems to result in more democratic and far ranging treatments, involving a comprehensive assessment based on input from a broad range of stakeholders, is what has been termed "values-based management." Values-based management seeks to take into account the totality of values and significance attributed to a site or set of sites. "Values" in this sense relate to tangibles and intangibles that define what is important to people. In all societies a sense of well being is associated with the need to connect with and appreciate heritage values. An understanding of how and why the past affects both the present and the future contributes to people's sense of well being. To reiterate, in heritage management, we articulate "values" as attributes given to sites, objects, and resources, and associated intellectual and emotional connections that make them important and define their significance for a person, group, or community. Practitioners of values-based management strive to identify and take these values into account in planning, physical treatments, and public interpretation efforts. In theory, values-based management, if thoroughly impartially executed, will result in more democratic and inclusive interpretations by accounting for the values of all stakeholders. *This is the ideal.*

Some notable examples of values-based management were published in a series of studies sponsored by the Getty Institute in 2004. And there are many more examples from the US and elsewhere: Chaco Canyon National Historic Park in the United States; Port Arthur World Heritage Site, Tasmania, Australia; and Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site in the UK.

Although differing ethnic groups will not agree on the meaning of, or share the same perspective toward, concepts of value, all people who ascribe meaning and significance for a site will relate to concepts of value in some significant way. Perhaps an extension of the values-based approach that can facilitate more inclusive interpretation is to develop mechanisms of identifying more broadly defined value categories. More broadly defined concepts of value would aid inclusiveness by making meanings accessible and relevant to wider communities of stakeholders.

Many of the contested issues surrounding values assessments are rooted in divergent concepts of authenticity. Authenticity involves factors that ascribe values or meanings that make something real and not an imitation; they ascribe concepts of "truth" or legitimacy for a society, group, community, or individual, perhaps a topic for another future colloquium, and, indeed, ICOMOS.

## Ties to Universal Concepts

Another possible avenue toward a more inclusive and internationally relevant public heritage is to consider the utility and development of universal values and associated concepts that can provide the greatest degree of relevance and meaning to the greatest number of people. The U.S. National Park Service's Interpretive Development Program (IDP), that I described previously, has identified links to universal concepts as key to effective interpretation in all modes of delivery. IDP describes universal concepts as intangible resources that almost everyone can relate to, i.e., universal intangibles. While not all people are likely to agree on the meaning of, or share the same perspective toward, a universal concept, all audiences will relate to the concept in some meaningful way. Universal concepts make meanings accessible and the resource relevant to a widely diverse audience. The implications of and techniques for presenting universal concepts will differ from resource to resource; universal concepts do not always have to be explained to be experienced or understood. A major goal of interpretation is to provide links for audience between link tangibles with intangibles and to place the audience or visitor in relationship with broad meanings. In all modes of delivery, the interpretive product should capture and illustrate the tangible to intangible/ universal concepts. The cohesive development of a relevant idea or ideas within an interpretive effort of any kind is enhanced by making links between tangibles, intangibles and universals (NPS IDP 2006).

To IDP, the interpretive product should serve as a catalyst in creating opportunities for the audience to form its own intellectual and emotional connections with meanings/significance inherent in the resource. It should provide opportunities for audiences to make both intellectual and emotional connections to resource meanings by using analogies, comparisons, word pictures, and other methods to link tangibles and intangibles: to create opportunities for the audience to form its own intellectual and emotional connections to resource meanings. It should also be appropriate for the reading audience and provide a clear focus for its connection with the resource by demonstrating the cohesive development of a relevant idea or ideas, rather than relying primarily on chronological narrative or a series of related facts. It should include a variety of universal concepts such as time, change, tranquility, peace, safety, security, shelter, and solitude (NPS IDP 2006).

## The Challenges of Heritage Tourism

Another current and ever-growing challenge that will affect the inclusiveness of heritage management and interpretation is the juggernaut of tourism. By definition, heritage tourism is collaboration between conservationists and commercial promoters. In heritage tourism, our goal is to harness people's fascination and sense of connection to the past and turn it into a commodity. It is often an uneasy association because the motives of these respective groups are not always compatible. While there is general recognition that heritage tourism can work to promote preservation of communities' historic and cultural resources, and also educate tourists and local residents about the resources, the resulting effects are not always viewed as beneficial, especially from those of us on the conservationist side of the fence. Nevertheless, because heritage tourism is a growth industry in almost every part of the world, the issues it conjures up – good and bad – must be addressed. Those of us whose primary goals and interests are conservation should be determined that our values and standards in this relationship are not compromised or diminished.

With the onset of globalization and global tourism, changing and impacts to heritage management and resource conservation are likely to be profound. Heritage tourism, with its ties to the currents of rapidly evolving global economies, is causing increasing needs and demands for cross-cultural and international communication and interdisciplinary training. Emphasis is on transferable skills such as the application of interdisciplinary approaches, writing for both

academic and non-academic audiences, oral presentation, and experience with multimedia packages. Heritage tourism run amok, i.e., when the relationship lacks conservation-driven decision making and objectively-derived values assessments, threatens or limits inclusiveness by rendering community and other stakeholder involvement superficial.

## Conclusions

Public interpretation treatments worldwide run the gamut for tendencies of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. What does a Palestinian, or Palestinians as a group, believe as authentic and therefore worthy of protection and commemoration? How does this compare in terms of commonality of commemoration, sense of place and setting, etc., with the heritage values of Israelis for the same territory or site? Can divergent communities in terms of values and opinions on commemoration ever arrive at a consensus, or even develop a constructive dialogue, about the rights of inclusion in heritage interpretation and site management? In summary, I suggest that more inclusive interpretations accept ever-changing definitions of authenticity, and that they depend on a tolerance of multiple and divergent definitions of significance (i.e., assigned and ascribed values), and that these values should be recognized and reflected in commemoration decisions by the controlling authorities.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Province of East-Flanders and the Ename Center for inviting me to participate in this colloquium *and* for the fantastic and incredibly important work they are doing for European and Worldwide heritage studies. This colloquium is a testament to that commitment.

## Endnotes

1 There are a number of publications that have some relevance to inclusiveness in heritage interpretation. Among them are the following:

*Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths* (1997), edited by John H. Jameson, Jr. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press. This volume addresses the need for interdisciplinary collaboration among archaeologists, historians, museum curators, and exhibit designers, in the face of increasing

public interest and demand for information about archeology and culture history, to devise the best practice strategies for translating archaeological information to the public. The book high-lights successful case studies where specialists have provided the public with the opportunity and necessary tools for learning about archaeology. Topics discussed include site tours, museum displays, active excavations, and volunteer programs. This book helps bridge the gap between archaeologists and the lay public by making information accessible to all.

*The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History* (2004), edited by John H. Jameson, Jr. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press. This volume describes the dilemma facing public management agencies on whether to reconstruct or not to reconstruct historic building and other structures. The case studies in this volume contribute to the ongoing debates between data and material authenticity and educational and interpretive value of re-constructions. Discussing diverse reconstruction sites from the Golan Region to Colonial Williamsburg, the authors present worldwide examples that have been affected by agency policies, divergent presentation philosophies, and political and economic realities.

*Ancient Muses: Archaeology and the Arts* (2003), edited by John H.Jameson, Jr. Birmingham: University of Alabama Press. This book demonstrates how archaeology can inspire a wide variety of artistic expressions ranging from straightforward computer-generated reconstructions and traditional artists' conceptions to other art forms such as poetry, opera, and storytelling. Visual and con-ceptual imagery can communicate contexts and settings in compelling and unique ways. These cognitive connections between archaeology and art reflect an inductive approach in defining and explaining the resource and making it more meaningful to the public. The book examines a variety of meaningful and effective approaches to interpretation that emphasize public awareness, access, and inspiration. It includes case studies where archaeology has inspired artistic expression, and where interpretive art is used to inspire and educate the public.

*Echoes of the Past: Archeology at Fort Pulaski National Monument, Georgia* (2004), by Sharyn Kane and Richard Keeton. Ft. Washington, Pennsylvania: Eastern National Parks. This booklet, like a good detective story, reveals the clues left from a violent event and its aftermath – the Civil War siege of Fort Pulaski. NPS archaeologists are the investigators in this true tale, one that follows their search in the hot sands of picturesque Cockspur Island near Savannah, Georgia. The researchers gradually piece together the picture of how Union forces aligned their rifled cannons against the mighty fortress. Designed for

a general reading audience, the book reveals the somber and painstaking search for soldiers' unmarked graves and the possibilities for more fascinating discoveries.
The Getty Conservation Institute's series on Values-based Management Case Studies: Chaco Canyon National Historic Park in the United States; Port Arthur World Heritage Site, Tasmania, Australia; and Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site in the UK (De la Torre et al 2005). This series by the Getty Conservation Institute is a thorough review and description of new values-based approaches to heritage management. Typically, heritage sites have been managed by a focus on individual issues – visitor control, interpretation, presentation, or conservation, for example. In contrast, values-based management takes a holistic view of a site, and its objective is always the conservation and communication of those values that make the site significant. The management process begins with an exami-nation of the values attributed to the site and is carried out through consultations with the stakeholders at the site. Once the values are identified – and thus the significance of the site is established – the aim of management becomes their conservation through policy and action.

## References

DE LA TORRE M. (ed), McLEAN M.G.H., MASON R. & MYERS D. 2005. *Heritage Values in Site Management, Four Case Studies*, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

JAMESON J.H. Jr. (ed) 1997. *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*, AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

JAMESON J.H. Jr. (ed) 2004. *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*, AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

JAMESON J.H. Jr., EHRENHARDH J.E. & FINN C.A. (eds) 2003. *Ancient Muses: Archaeology and the Arts*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

KANE S. & KEETON R. 2004. *Echoes of the Past: Archeology at Fort Pulaski. Ft. Washington*, Eastern National, Pennsylvania.

NPS IDP (2006). *The Interpretive Development Program, Aiming for High Ground*, <www.nps.gov/idp/interp/>.

# JEWISH HERITAGE IN FRANCE: THE HERITAGE OF A MINORITY RELIGIOUS CULTURE

*Max Polonovski*
*Ministry of Culture, France*

A French scientific research team, Nouvelle Gallia Judaica, has listed the towns and villages where the name of a street indicates a Jewish settlement or an activity connected with Judaism in the Past. They found hundreds of *rue de la juiverie*, *rue des juifs*, *rue de la synagogue*, etc. whose origins go back to the Middle Ages. In Normandy alone, Professor Norman Golb of the University of Chicago has enumerated more than 70 villages where the central street was a rue des juifs. Paris itself presents in its centre a *rue de la juiverie* which crosses the middle of the Ile de la Cité, the very heart of Paris, and can be identified with the ancient Cardo Maximus. Even if it had been changed in 1900 and became rue de la Cité, this denomination shows the central importance of the Jewish presence in the heart of the towns at the beginning of their urban organization. Yet why is it that such an essential component of the French medieval society, still readable in toponymy and urbanism, has left so few traces in the Culture and the History of the country?

## Historical Background

The History of Jews in France follows the same scheme as in most of the rest of Christian Europe. Expulsions and persecutions alternate with relatively stable periods. After the last expulsion of 1394, a new Jewish population settled progressively as a result of the formation of the Modern State. A France forbidden to the Jews tolerated them in Bordeaux and Bayonne under the name of New Christians, as they were fleeing from the Inquisition after the 16th century. In the next century, a whole Jewish population of Alsace and Lorraine was integrated to the Kingdom as those Germanic regions were conquered by France. The so-called "Juifs du Pape", the Jews belonging to the Holy See, became French citizens during the French Revolution when Avignon and its surroundings were annexed to France.

As the Revolution gave the civil rights to the Jews, it implied that they would have to forego their independence as a religious community. Napoleon increased the integration of the Jews and organized the Cult. Judaism was protected by the law and became an official religion. The egalitarian values of the Revolution and the acknowledgement by a protective government produced a patriotic and republican Judaism. Reinforced by the loss of the Alsace and Lorraine in 1870 and with the massive migration from these regions towards the interior of France, this feeling reached its peak with World War I. This patriotism, sometimes expressed in the decoration of religious objects, lasted in Alsace to the end of the 1960s.
The result of this erratic history with a dispersed and rather small Jewish population is a limited architectural and cultural heritage of synagogues, cemeteries, and ritual baths, without any homogeneous characteristics. On the quantitative side, the number of synagogues does not exceed 200, and there are barely 180 cemeteries, among which only 50 were founded before the 19th century.

A double strong shock jeopardized the dynamic character of the unification and assimilation of the French Jews, in a system in which the religious differences were seen as belonging exclusively to the private sphere. The defeat in 1940 with the introduction of the anti-Jewish Laws by the Vichy regime shows how fragile was the republican process of integration. After 1960, the loss of Algeria and the independence of the North African countries, which provoked the massive migration to France of a Jewish population of Sephardic or Berber origin, progressively and deeply modified the practice and the perception of Judaism in French society. Of course, the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 also modified the centre of gravity of spiritual aspirations and occupied a special place in the Jewish consciousness.

As France became the Western European country with the largest Jewish population, hundreds of synagogues and community centres, principally in the suburbs of the big cities, were built in the post-World War II years, reversing the trend from the particular to the general, from the private to the public, and pointing toward a rejection of the common national culture and a return to communitarianism. This societal shift, which was not restricted to Jewish culture but has had an impact on many categories of population, appeared at the beginning of the 1980s. It was encouraged by the state administration which launched in 1980 the Year of Heritage (l'Année du Patrimoine). It was an opportunity to underline the diversity of cultural heritage and its social dimension with political slogans, like "reappropriation of cultural heritage", as if it had somehow been confiscated. It is interesting to study the mechanisms which led the French administration to

support specific cultures. They were initiated by the Minister of Culture, Jean-Philippe Lecat, in what we could call an affirmative action.

In the 1970s and 1980', the notion of heritage in France also became more affective. Jewish heritage appeared as an element among all the new heritages. This expression was used to define a series of categories whose value had not yet been acknowledged – including industrial heritage, maritime heritage, musical instruments, trains, but also cinemas and theatres, 20th century architecture, shop windows, and other forms of popular culture..

The problem was that the criteria of selection which were traditionally adopted in the Historical Monuments Administration were based on the History of Art, and Jewish heritage was absolutely unknown and misunderstood. It was necessary for the Minister of Culture to issue special instructions to the regional offices in charge of the protection of monuments, asking explicitly to be indulgent towards this specific heritage. Moreover, in order to initiate the process of protecting synagogues as components of national heritage, he personally took the decision to classify the synagogue of Lunéville without going through the normal review procedures by the competent commission of historical monuments, something extremely rare that has happened only three times in the previous century.

This cultural strategy, elaborated at the highest political level, met resistance not only from the regional historical monuments offices, which were totally ignorant of the specificity of such a patrimony, but also from some Jewish community leaders, who were troubled by this sudden and unexpected intrusion. Following the Law of Separation of Church and State, the public administration was reluctant to interfere in religious matters, especially in a socially or politically difficult situation, in the decades between the Dreyfus Affair and the Vichy Laws. The Jewish communities, for their part, remained suspicious of any external curiosity and preferred total independence, which they saw as a guarantee of a greater security.

## Official Policies, Changing Attitudes, and Endangered Jewish Heritage

The first case I will mention that illustrates the political willingness of the French administration to intervene in Jewish heritage issues is that of the synagogue of Bordeaux, a building from the end of the 19th century. An local request to list the synagogue had been blocked by the regional historical monuments office for several years when the trial of Maurice Papon began in Bordeaux. Papon was a former Vichy administrator, responsible for the deportation of many Jews from

Bordeaux. As the media spotlighted Bordeaux, the procedure of classifying the synagogue underwent a brutal acceleration. The file was quickly submitted to the national monuments commission, but since the commission was used to applying only criteria of aesthetic value, it proposed a partial classification. At that point, the Minister of Culture decided to bypass the commission and classify the entire building.

The second example demonstrates the change of mentality in the Jewish communities and the attempt to maintain the egalitarian principles on which the French Republic was founded. It is illustrated by the synagogue of Balbronn in Alsace. That region possesses an absolutely unique Jewish heritage, unique by its composition and its homogeneity. The coherence of the relationship between synagogue, cemetery, and urban structures in a largely rural environment presents a peculiar character still visible on the French side of the Rhine. The network of villages in which the synagogues, rural and modest buildings occur gives them a real historic and ethnographic value.

The synagogue of Balbronn was built in 1895; it is a nice monument with a Neo-Romanesque facade. It is characteristic of a class of religious buildings which proves the vitality of the Jewish rural world at the end of the 19th century.
In the 1980s, the owner, the Jewish Consistory of the regions, asked for a demolition licence which was granted at once. An association led by an architect elaborated a project of moving the walls of the synagogue to Jerusalem and to be rebuilt there. It took several years for the association to raise the funds necessary for the operation but in the meantime they succeeded in building the foundations ready to welcome the synagogue in Jerusalem. However, during the same period, mentalities had changed. The emotion this project had provoked, the idea of loosing a part of the memory of the village, incited the Minister of Culture to take an emergency measure of temporary classification, which blocked the demolition and exportation of the synagogue. On this occasion, she specified the reasons for this measure, and emphasized the importance of the elements of minority cultures, as components of the national heritage. At the question of whether the Jewish heritage belongs only to the Jews, she answered for the Ministry of Culture that Jewish heritage in France belongs to all French citizens, just as the French cathedrals belong also to the Jews of France.

If the State played a leading role in the recognition and valorization of an almost unknown heritage, it does not possess the means to carry out that responsibility. In fact, in the years since the synagogue of Balbronn was officially protected in 1999, it has faced severe threats of structural collapse.

Another issue concerns the disconnection between the ancient Jewish heritage and the contemporary Jewish communities in France. Jews no longer live in many of the villages where they once represented a large percentage of the population. In addition, the majority of the Jewish population in France now comes from North Africa and has no common culture with the Alsatian Jewish tradition. Today no one feels responsible for this endangered heritage. The result is a chronic and progressive abandonment of monuments whose significance is unknown to a great part of the whole population.

The government may give impulse and make recommendations, but it cannot change the mental schemes inherited from centuries of prejudices and parallel histories. Today, the State is disengaging from the field of culture with cuts in subsidies. The communities are unable to face the financial effort necessary to maintain a heritage which doesn't respond to a social need. They therefore have to develop a network of associations, to support any cultural project. With decentralization on the way in France it will be necessary to link groups operating on the local level, particularly private associations, at the same time developing links with education. The goal is to create bridges between the Jewish heritage and the whole population in order to avoid the temptation of communitarianism and to promote Jewish heritage as a constituent element of the national heritage.

Indeed, Jewish heritage is of interest not only to the Jews, as it is proven by the success of the European Day of Jewish Culture, organized every September in 26 countries. This event is open to a wide public and highlights a different theme each year. This and similar initiatives could be associated with education projects in a school environment. At a moment when "cultural exception" is replaced by "cultural differences," it is crucial to enhance the value of the Jewish heritage. It is the precondition of its survival.

There are two major justifications for such an effort. First, as we have seen, the integration of the Jewish dimension in national heritage should be considered as a necessary historical readjustment. Today, how can we understand the Holocaust if we are not aware of the historical and social reality before the German occupation? Why teach the Shoah, if we don't teach who were the victims, and explore their history and their culture over the previous centuries. The best way to have access to it is the tangible heritage, monumental or not. And considering their small number, each element of the Jewish heritage that is allowed to disappear contributes to the falsification of history.

# THE CASE OF BOLIVIA: DIVERSITY AND INTERPRETATION OF ITS CULTURAL HERITAGE

*Mireya Muñoz*
*Nogales & Asociados Consultores Internacionales, Bolivia*

BOLIVIA is a country where as much as 80% of the population is Indigenous (Aymara, Quechua and Guaraní) making it the largest proportion in the Western Hemisphere (higher than in Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala and México). Between 1825 and 1925, during its first century as an independent country, Bolivia's policies were preponderantly Eurocentric. However, since the National Revolution of 1952, Bolivia began a period of political change and cultural development that has prioritized the incorporation of indigenous values, to ensure that values of communities, ethnic groups and other stakeholders – minorities and non-elite groups – be included in the national policies. The Constitution's first article defines Bolivia as a multi-ethnic and multicultural country. This underlines the concept of several ethnic nations and, thus, cultures. It also indicates a major revaluation of Indigenous values.

Since the new generations after the 1952 National Revolution have begun to manage the country's cultural affairs there has been a major focus on the reality that Bolivia is the home to several cultures, not just one. In fact, the new government of Bolivia has recently created a "Secretary of Cultures." Long-established elite groups have accepted the indigenous cultures and have started to identify with them. They have found that they can share the ownership of the Indigenous cultural heritage.

One interesting case of such ownership is the archaeological site of Tiwanaku, where 23 Indigenous communities have united to protect and manage the site, which was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001. Each community is represented by its *mallku* (leader) and since the land is still filled with archaeological items and therefore can not be used for farming, tourism revenues are shared by all of the neighboring communities. A proof of the high regard of Bolivians for the site is the recent inauguration of President Evo Morales by Aymara priests at the Site of Tiwanaku.

Tiwanaku, located in the Bolivian high plateau (*altiplano*) in the Andes, is one of the most impressive archaeological sites in the Americas. For

approximately a thousand years, between circa 200 and 1100 AD, Tiwanaku was the most developed and largest urban center in the Lake Titicaca basin. It housed about thirty-five thousand people within the city, with an additional four to five hundred living around it. At its peak, the city's sphere of influence expanded all the way to the north of Argentina and Chile, as well as southern Perú and most of Bolivia. The site covers a large area, of which only 2.25 square miles have been excavated. This area consists of plazas, platforms and a small sunken temple, made of cut-stone masonry. There are also several stelae portraying costumes and ritual implements of the time. Around the site, earthen mounds, remnants of buildings past, can be seen.

The site is managed by the vice-secretariat of Culture through the Dirección Nacional de Arqueología (National Archaeological Directorship) – DINAR. The DINAR will continue excavations on the Akapana pyramid this year, as well as in the Puma Punku compound, where it expected to invest $150,000 in 2006. The $30,000 third phase of the Akapana excavation, will be funded in part by the Japanese government, through UNESCO, the Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF - Andean Development Corporation) and SOBOCE, the main cement company. It is expected that with the new excavations and possible findings, more visitors will come to the site. Currently only a small percentage of tourists visit the Bolivian side of Lake Titicaca and the Tiwanaku archeological site, despite their being so close to Cuzco.

Yet there are some problems regarding the care of the site by the communities because their *mallkus*, or *leaders*, are changed once a year. In addition, there are the expectable differences in opinion as to how best to manage the site. However, according to the Bolivian Constitution, the government has the final word in regard to the management and treatment of archaeological sites, which by law, are owned by the country. Good results from the coordinated work of the indigenous peoples and the government are clearly expected.

Another interesting case is the Sajama National Park, a cultural landscape where the Aymara Indians have always worked as a community. In recent years, ICOMOS/Bolivia has worked with them in a Conservation Project financed by an American Express grant through the World Monuments Fund. With the supervision of the Viceministry of Culture and ICOMOS National Committee, the Aymara Indians worked in the conservation of 17 burial towers known as *chullpas*. These are quite interesting examples of *chullpas* because they are colored and decorated with designs reminiscent of Inca costumes. As an example of ownership of their heritage, the Aymara Indians worked on the conservation

of the *chullpas* using international techniques guided by archaeologists and architects of the Viceministry and ICOMOS. They also were trained to perform maintenance of the chullpas and work as guides for the tourists. This community owns a small hotel in the park and oper-ates a vicuña ranch. Vicuñas are native to this environmental zone, and until recently were in danger of extinction. Today, with this program, the quantity of vicuñas has increased as much as two hundred percent. The Aymara cut the wool of the vicuñas twice a year and sell it to increase community funds.

Regarding preservation of colonial cultural heritage, in the past three to four decades in Bolivia, there has been substantial collection of historical data on colonial art, with emphasis on its syncretism with indigenous forms of expression. Results have been quite satisfactory and have generated strong synergies that en-hanced pride and national identity and have helped to integrate ethnic groups, regions and cultural values. This intangible heritage has been "acquired" to become shared and owned by the population in general. La Paz has folkloric dances where the general public and social leaders from all currents mix, in a similar way to the Brazilian Carnival. During ALASITAS, a festival held in January, people from all social levels seek blessings from Indigenous priests to obtain protection for their properties or to buy miniatures of objects that they want to acquire during the year. The elites have clearly acquired and accepted many Indigenous customs and ways.

In Santa Cruz – a state in the eastern lowlands – recent discoveries of *reducciones* (settlements founded by Jesuits for Christianized Indigenous communities) have become a rich common regional heritage that were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1990. These sites have not only dramatically increased the local identity of eastern Bolivia, but have also contributed to integrate the region with the rest of the nation.

The main heritage issue currently under discussion in Bolivia is the difference between "Local" and "Universal" values, when it comes to cultural elements. To achieve status as a World Heritage Site, a site must be deemed of "outstanding universal value". However, many in Bolivia believe that those values are currently set by dominant foreign societies and should now evolve to include the local values of non-elite countries. Those who hold this perspective believe that the elements which make a site worthy for its own peoples may not fit within the "universal values" against which it is measured. This, however, should not diminish its importance and should not be a cause to prevent it from earning a World Heritage title.

In any case, Bolivia may well be the Latin-American country that has shown the greatest development of Indigenous societies and Bolivia is currently in the process of changing its Constitution with a view toward increasing the weight and share of Indigenous values and cultures. Over the past 20 years, there has been enormous legal progress, which has helped to maintain peace and deepen a sound democratic evolution. It is to be hoped that in the coming decades, Bolivia will continue to maximize inclusive cultural policies for Indigenous and other non-elite groups.

# PERFORMANCES AND ARTS-BASED INTERVENTIONS IN MUSEUM AND HISTORIC SITES: THE TENEMENT MUSEUM (USA) AND THE UNTOLD STORY PROJECT (UK)

*Joel Chalfen*
*University of Manchester, UK*

*"You seem to think the past is unreal, a pit full of ghosts. But to me the past is in some ways the most real thing of all, and loyalty to it the most important thing of all. It isn't just a case of sentimentality about an old flame. It's a principle of life, it's a project."*

From 'The Sea, the Sea' by Iris Murdoch

THE "Sites of Conscience" roundtable discussion at the Ename Colloquium posed the following question: What role can the creative arts play in drawing connections between past and present and fostering dialogue on contemporary issues? In this extended version of the answer I gave there, I am as much concerned with creative interventions as forms of engagement as with specific events or activities at museums and historic sites. The project of bringing the past into the present invites the application of creativity in ways that traditional museum and heritage site practice does not. Perversely, the real object requires that which we cannot objectively say about it in order to make it "real" for viewers. "Seeing it for real"[1] means being able to approach the past and bring it into the present as a living, meaningful thing. It was thus the way of Hamlet's ploy to catch the King. But meaning resonates through many channels and the theatricalization the project implies refers as much to the creative role visitor-audiences take in engaging with the historical place and object as it does to the modes of interpretation a heritage site employs.

The traditional display addresses the spectator-patient whose experience and learning appeals to all the senses but ensures the integrity of the past through a voyeuristic distance. This of course has called upon many creative interpretations and methodologies in which technology especially has recently played an important

role. But in the wake of concerns about authority, responsibility and representation (to name just three essentially post-colonial questions) this "patience" might be rewarded with a little agency. Whether it is the pushing of a button, being put in role, or merely being asked, "Why did you come here today?" a line has been crossed and the spectator becomes implicated in the telling of the story or the shaping of the past.

This is what I understand as the project to bring the past into the present: an active engagement by the visitor to draw connections between past and present and to make this engagement part of a process of identification that questions and locates their role in their society, with the past as "a principle of life." As an example, in the European imagination, the dimensions of the Holocaust continue to send ripples of pain, silence and horror through the post-modern world – ripples that impact on European responses to later atrocities – so that it is difficult, from this one perspective at least, to consider the past as anything complete or "signed off." The Site of Conscience, drawn indirectly perhaps from this particular heritage, estimates this as essential to the public's engagement with place and past: in the dualism between what remains now of what was once there, a dialogue is generated concerning what we think should replace that history, on the basis of what we consider to be important to us now.

There is in this project a complex shifting of both time and place. Underneath the deliberative performances that are often induced at the Site of Conscience, there is a range of pre-deliberative, cultural negotiations that both create and define the experience. Such negotiations are recognized elsewhere as implicit to the museum, for example, as Carol Duncan's "civilizing ritual" – where the visitor participates in a prescribed performance confirming their status as citizen (Duncan 1995); or more explicitly in James Clifford's notion of the "contact zone", where the museum, as the location of intercultural encounter, feeds into community process and decision-making (Clifford 1997). These models are useful for considering the inter-subjective, dialogic nature of the learning process of identification instigated by the project. But, at the historic site, given that it is in its own place, there would seem to be another, 'intra-subjective' process in which participants take on the role of those who were formerly there. Prior to discovering some "generalized other" they (potentially) pass through a process of speaking with another voice, a persona or other self. Because we are in the place "where it happened," there is the facility, at least, to re-enact the past or tell the story as if it were our own.

When I visited the Tenement Museum[2] in New York in 2004, I was fortunate to join a school tour in which this facility was made literal by giving the pupils a role as a family of Chinese immigrants. Indeed, whilst this was far from a rehearsed performance, the techniques of the theatrical arts have an obvious application at the Site of Conscience. Elsewhere, at National Trust properties in the UK, the Untold Story Project has used dance, textiles, and visual arts as well as theatre as a medium through which community members with no previously held identification to these historic sites could express their connection, their place there.[3] The role of the creative arts in this must not be seen as a replacement for the virtues and directives of museological approaches. Rather they act as facilitators where facilitation is deemed useful: a "safe" medium through which people can entertain and develop their agency across the various cultural negotiations. They provide a means of access across cultural difference by forming a bridge between the familiar and the unfamiliar. Thus, the particular role of the creative arts, as I see it, is to discover the tension between an everyday self and an 'other self' that, arguably, lies at the heart of the creative imagination. Sometimes this may be through the actual intervention of artists; sometimes it is in the activity of the visitor as interpreter.

Such tension is not actually dangerous, though it can seem so, being endemically playful and essentially disruptive in its attitude to the world, whether in celebration, subversion or both. Hence its "safety" is not always apparent to those unfamiliar with this kind of risk-taking; and, again in theatrical terms, it requires a certain 'suspension of disbelief' to anticipate the value of the unpredictable. On this basis, it is all the more understandable why there may be resistance to the use of the arts at heritage museum sites, where the truth is to be learnt from what is already there. It is strange to imagine the need for an artist say, at Auschwitz-Birkenau where (as elsewhere) the ruins of death are surely enough to speak for themselves. Moreover, the danger of bringing the everyday self into such a space seems at once extreme and trivialising. The tension at historic sites is, it might be argued, between the evi-dence and the events/lives/times it represents. To contemplate that tension is to leave your self behind and enter another realm where the self (perhaps temporarily) does not belong.

This language is deliberately provocative to my argument as "belonging" is essential to the questions this project (of past into present and the role of the arts in it) asks. The privilege of walking through the colonnades of the Parthenon appears to stem from the fact that 'I' do not belong here. Yet, there needs to be some empathy, some process of identification if I am to take a critical view of or

be responsible (as in, "able to respond") to the expression of human achievement articulated in that experience. On the one hand, my response is inspiration and it is resolved in the immutability of the past (as implied by the physical survival of the site). I empathize with the universal, the imponderable, the undifferentiated quality of humankind: I recognize myself as beyond history. On the other hand, "the project" starts with the physical anachronism of "me" being "there". Whilst this may invoke some melodramatic "wonder" (to borrow Stephen Greenblatt's term) at the improbability of that, it might next provoke the more formidable (absurdist) response: what am I doing here? At this point, I recognize myself as part of history: I empathize with the contingent, the earthly, the shifting; and I can choose whose side I am on and with which voice do I speak.

In this sense, the Site of Conscience begins with the idea of interruption – the visitor's entrance onto the stage of the past. In my visit to the Tenement Museum, this interruption was stage-managed: our group was brought to the door of Victoria Confino (a teenage Jewish immigrant to New York circa 1916) and after knocking, politely asked if we might disturb her to ask some questions. The threshold the public crosses may not always be explained so literally but to a certain extent this deliberate intrusion needs to be made to mark out a space where the past and the present can co-habit and the unreal past can be realized in its everyday presence. The "game" disturbs the past, almost as a desacralization in which it must now yield to the interpretation of its actors. Of course, this openness is in resistance to the governmental tendencies of any organized public space. A creative approach allows for more possibility of the subject to speak through the objectified self of ritual and control.

Ideas of "safety" and "extension". though evident in notions of performance particularly, underlie this creative approach; and consequently, I think that facilitating these does require expertise beyond that of museological training and device. Typically, arts interventions serve the learning objectives of heritage museums and sites but I would argue that their role goes further in exploring new ways to engage audiences. It makes sense that any arts intervention is recognised and understood within the whole structure of any heritage museum site, that it sits well with the place and with the staff. How an engagement is framed by the building, by the induction process, by the marketing establishes how a visitor becomes an interacting role-player in the interpretation and learning, what questions they ask of the site and of themselves. But an artistic approach is also about choice and at some point the visitor needs to opt in, to choose to participate. As I have tried to describe, creative arts interventions can be used to

translate a personal experience within a public context into a public experience in a personal context. Not everyone seeks that public exposure and would rather communicate between their present and the past on their own terms through their own dialogue.

Unsurprisingly, Charles Arrowby, the hero of Iris Murdoch's novel, eventually finds the solitude that had previously evaded him, in the "museum" of his half brother, amongst the disconnected pieces of a life that does not belong to him. The museum is the final resting place of a transcendent soul with which Charles can find some unfathomable communion. Yet the principle that he had previously determined to live by – of forcing the past to con-tinue, to insist on its presence, its urgency – was far murkier, far more difficult, and far less predictable.

## Endnotes

1 "Seeing it for real...?" is the title given to a recent article concerning the impact of museum theatre on learning: A Jackson and H Rees Leahy in Research in Drama Education Vol. 10, No.3, November 2005, pp.303-325

2 The Lower East Side Tenement Museum is a former tenement house, now a museum of immigration. It is the lead museum in the International Coalition of Historical Site Museums of Conscience. See www.tenement.org for further information.

3 The National Trust is an independent charity served to protect many of the UK's historic and natural sites of interest. Between 2003 and 2006, they ran 'The Untold Story Project' at 18 locations to engage new audiences and community groups with heritage. For more information visit www.nationaltrust.org.uk.

## References

CLIFFORD J.1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Boston.

DUNCAN C. 1995. *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London.

# THE U.S. NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT AND INDIGENOUS HERITAGE

*David W. Morgan*
*National Park Service, USA*

## The Legal Foundation for Traditional Resources

In the United States, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA; Public Law 89-665) represents one of our most sweeping heritage resource statutes. It requires the government to consider the affects of its actions on "historic properties", which are defined as "any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included in, or eligible for inclusion on the National Register" (16 U.S.C. 470w[5]). As the definition implies, one of the act's greatest impacts on historic preservation was its creation of the National Register of Historic Places, a list composed of "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture" (16 U.S.C. 470a[a][1][A]). Listing properties on the National Register, or at least determining which are eligible for listing according to formal criteria, is a major endeavor in federal land management today and generates much of the business in the archaeological contract industry.

Twenty-two amendments have been made to the NHPA since its inception in 1966. The amendment I focus on in this essay was passed in 1992 and created a niche in the act for a type of resource that does not typically find itself placed on the National Register: "properties of traditional religious and cultural importance" (Title 1, Section 101[d][6] found at 16 U.S.C. 470a[d][6]). Guidance on how to deter-mine whether or not a historic property of traditional importance is eligible for the National Register has a somewhat convoluted history, the beginning of which predates the actual amendment itself and is discussed in detail elsewhere (King 2003:33-34). Suffice it to say that Congress in 1980 directed federal officials to determine how to "preserve, conserve, and encourage the continuation of the diverse traditional prehistoric, historic, ethnic, and folk cultural traditions that underlie and are a living expression of our American heritage" (16 U.S.C. 470a note). The resulting study suggested that traditional cultural resources be incorporated into the NHPA, and the National Park Service paved the way in 1990 by creating Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Identifying and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Parker and King 1990). This created the peculiar situation

where the guidelines on how to implement the amendment were authored two years in advance of the amendment itself, a chronological conundrum that is responsible for some of the interpretive dilemmas discussed below.

The guidelines define "traditional cultural properties", or TCPs, as those properties eligible for the National Register because of their "association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King 1990:1). The term "traditional" refers to "those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations" (Parker and King 1990:1). The significance of traditional cultural properties stems from the role they play in sustaining "a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices" (Parker and King 1990:1). Beyond initial definitions, most of Bulletin 38 is devoted to explicating how TCPs should be evaluated using the well-known National Register eligibility and exclusion criteria, with special attention given to the role of stakeholders, the potential cultural sensitivity of this resource type to stake-holders, and the deliberate exclusion of traditional practices or beliefs that have no real property referents.

## A Suite of Difficult Premises

A number of philosophical dilemmas have arisen since Bulletin 38 was authored in 1990 and the subsequent amendment at Section 101(d)(6) was enacted in 1992. I focus here on three dilemmas that are especially germane to the process of documenting TCPs in the federal system, and I then turn to a case study from Louisiana that reveals some of the practical implications of these dilemmas.

One of the more obvious dilemmas arises from differences in the wording of the amendment at Section 101(d)(6) and the language of Bulletin 38. The legal language dating to 1992 stipulates that properties of importance to "an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization may be determined to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register" (16 U.S.C. 470a[d][6][A]). Bulletin 38, however, clearly promotes the idea that any community, howsoever defined (cf., Haley 2004:227), can have traditional properties placed on the National Register. Parker and King have disagreed all along with the indigenous-only interpretation. King {King, 2003 #2170:5, 35, 129-130} points out that TCPs have been placed on the National Register since its inception, even before the TCP acronym was coined, and he contends that the notion that the legislation covers only tribal or Native

Hawaiian TCPs is a "widespread assumption...that's certainly not true." Indeed, the examples he and Parker sprinkled throughout Bulletin 38 include Honolulu's Chinatown, the Don Pedrito Jaramillo shrine in Texas, and the German Village Historic District of Ohio, just to name a few.

Bulletin 38's authors clearly intended for legal recognition to extend to any traditional community's TCPs. King (2003:36) opines that indigenous people are mentioned specifically in the 1992 amendment because Native American interest groups were instrumental in drafting it, and he argues that the language of the amendment was simply a "reminder" that Native American and Native Hawaiian TCPs also were eligible for the National Register in addition to everyone else's {King, 1998 #1157:98}. Regardless of the intentions of King and Parker, precise diction matters in the formal discourse of law, and the fact remains that only Native Americans and Native Hawaiians are named at Section 101(d)(6). This dissonance between the language of the National Register guidelines and that of the legal amendment creates confusion. By law, whose traditional cultural properties must federal agencies consider as they comply with the NHPA? It is a question that each federal agency faces, and it is one with practical ramifications for the agencies and the heritage resources they control. Given the ambiguity, the interpre-tive stance of each agency consequently becomes a matter of their land management philosophy, fiscal policy, and relationship with special interest groups.

A second philosophical dilemma is that the NHPA and other statutes are grounded in popular notions of authenticity and corporate identity that perceive culture as static, and these legal foundations are diametrically opposed to the anthropological understanding that change, fluidity, and situational boundaries are the sine qua non of culture (Haley and Wilcoxon 1997:766). In the NHPA and Bulletin 38 cultural identity is implied to be formed of ancient, immutable properties, and it is assumed that the unmodified character of culture forms the crux of an oppressed traditional community's resistance to assimilation. In the National Register guidelines cultures are dichotomized as legitimate or false, traditional or acculturated, something that Haley and Wilcoxon (1997:765) describe as "a theoretical throwback to earlier decades when traditions were thought to be simply either genuine or spurious and cultural groups were presumed either to persist or to assimilate". Those individuals and communities who reinterpret, reinvent, or innovate from "original" or historically unmodified traditional practices find themselves in untenable positions relative to the NHPA and the National Register.

For Native Americans the legal myth of immutability is partly rooted in their unique status as sovereign "domestic dependent nations" of the United States. Laws regarding their political status are redolent with a sense of timelessness that accompanies claims of "exclusive occupancy" of North America (Brown 1997:778; Kelley 1997:782), and this outdated view of indigenous people has carried over into heritage preservation statutes. At times some Native Americans accept and/or manipulate elements of this erroneous depiction in order to leverage the prestige capital and fiscal support attendant upon being a federally-recognized tribe, and, more specifically, that can result from having properties listed on the National Register. The legal myth of timelessness thus becomes self-perpetuating and reflexive in both the political and preservation contexts.

A third philosophical dilemma is that Bulletin 38 makes anthropologists the chosen arbiters of the legitimacy and authenticity of traditions. In terms of the methods involved in evaluating a TCP's eligibility for the National Register, the guidelines specifically advocate hiring a cultural anthropologist – in practice usually a cultural outsider – to consult extensively with those "who have special knowledge...and interests in the area" (Parker and King 1990:7). Ironically Bulletin 38 asserts that only traditional cultural practitioners have the ability to recognize TCPs, to evaluate their significance, and to evaluate their integrity; furthermore, as Haley (2004:226) has noted, in Bulletin 38 TCPs are set apart from other kinds of historic properties "by locating their significance in the minds of ordinary people." Situating authority in the hands of cultural outsiders thus is a paradox, one that King now regrets creating. King (2003:139) acknowledges that he and Parker "came under a good deal of pressure to say that identification of TCPs required studies by ethnographers", which they did not resist as much as they should have. In terms of legal compliance and National Register eligibility, however, what the government has in print is the legal benchmark, and Bulletin 38 unintentionally serves to highlight issues of cultural authenticity and authority.

These three dilemmas have practical implications for heritage resource preservation and documentation, as I illustrate below with an example of a recent inventory of TCPs on military land in Louisiana (Morgan 2005a, 2005b). At the invitation of the Louisiana Army National Guard, three federally-recognized Native American tribes with historical ties to the land directed an assessment of TCPs on National Guard property. The participants' dissatisfaction with elements of Bulletin 38 highlights some of the more general philosophical dilemmas just outlined.

## The Louisiana Army National Guard and TCP Dilemmas

The Louisiana Army National Guard (LAARNG) controls 31,600 acres of land. They must comply with the NHPA when they use federal funds or fulfill their federal mandates. Consequently they now manage over 700 archaeological sites and historic buildings, and they have created a successful program for consultation with federally-recognized tribes. It was at an annual consultation meeting in 2002 that a plan emerged to engage the tribes in a dialogue about TCPs that might exist at a 13,620-acre troop training facility near Alexandria, Louisiana.

The LAARNG's response to the first and third dilemmas outlined above can be rapidly summarized. Their approach to the problem of whose TCPs are eligible for the National Register is one of open-minded practicality. In other words, the LAARNG recognizes that many communities could potentially identify TCPs at the training facility, but the National Guard's fiscal resources are limited; therefore, the LAARNG is staging a multi-phase approach to documenting TCPs that first focuses on the Native American properties, since an effective consultation process is already established with Native Americans and they happen to be mentioned by name at Section 101(d)(6) of the NHPA. To turn to the issue of hiring academics as outside experts, like others since 1992 (e.g., {Downer, 1993 #3046} {Deur, 2000 #3040}, the military's stance was to embrace the idea that no one is better suited for identifying TCPs and evaluating their National Register eligibility than traditional cultural practitioners. Working through Northwestern State University of Louisiana, the LAARNG hired representatives of each nation's Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) to co-direct the property inventory, reasoning that the THPOs are already set up to conduct such a project while also possessing the insider knowledge and trust necessary to identify traditional cultural practitioners and engage their participation. As an anthropologist, I was hired to document the process, to act as a group facilitator, and to serve as a clearinghouse for known information on the archaeology and architecture of the training facility.

The entwined dilemmas of authenticity and legal immutability were ones with which the Native American experts wrestled for the duration of the project. By legally addressing TCPs in the NHPA, the law invokes TCP evaluation through the standards of the National Register. One eligibility criterion a TCP must fulfill to be on the National Register is that the tribes must have begun to ascribe religious and cultural significance to it prior to the last 50 years, and the use of the property must be unchanged over time. The tribes felt that federal policy of the 1800s and 1900s made this impossible. From 1789 to 1838 more than 81,000 people were relocated as a result of population pressure, treaty, and formal policy, and

this population movement reached its height when Andrew Jackson specifically targeted southeastern tribes for total removal after his election as president of the United States in 1828 {Remini, 2001 #2186:278}. Many Native American groups began migrating out of Louisiana into Texas and Oklahoma beginning in the 1820s, and the 1830s marked the peak of tribal evictions. The Caddo, for instance, left or were forced out during this period (Kniffen, et al. 1987:76; Perttula 1992:240), and in the 1830s the Quapaw likewise ceded what traditional lands remained to them and also were relocated to Oklahoma, along with large numbers of Choctaw. Consequently, unlike western tribes, those in the southeast lost the opportunity to maintain continuity of practice in, and even familiarity of place with, traditional homelands more than two centuries ago.

The TCP study for the LAARNG therefore became an enterprise in reconnecting traditional people to an ancestral landscape. The tribes' cultural practitioners understand the sacred dimensions of plants, soils, and Little People – just to list three elements of traditional knowledge – but not about those things at specific places on the LAARNG training facility, a place many had never visited prior to this inventory project. Upon examination of the new landscape they recognized places with traditional significance, but they questioned whether the exclusion criteria of the National Register prevent them from identifying such locales as eligible for the National Register and seeking consideration of them during federal planning. King (pers. comm., 11/30/04) is of the opinion that reconnecting with the landscape is not an issue, because what is of concern relative to the 50-year and continuity criterion is the significance attached to a place, not the use of the place itself. If the type of significance attached to a place predates the last 50 years, and if the significance's functional expression is the same today as it was in the past, then the property meets the stipulations of the National Register. In short, the place can be new to traditional communities, so long as the practice and beliefs associated with it are old. Nevertheless the 50-year and ongoing-continuity criterion remains confusing to both federal land managers and traditional communities.

This confusion partly has its roots in the past. In the 1985 draft version of the "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" – the precursor to Bulletin 38 – the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation stated that a property need not have been in consistent use since antiquity, and use as part of a contemporary revitalization movement would make it eligible for consideration as a cultural property (ACHP 1985:7 in Stoffle and Evans 1990:753-754). Revitalization movements entail a great deal of cultural

transformation and fluidity, particularly the re-assignment of contemporary meaning to past practices (Wallace 1969), so the original notion of Bulletin 38 appears to have been headed away from the static cultural model it ultimately employed. The guidelines issued in 1990 were more specific about which types of landscape reconnections were permissible between Native Americans and the lands from which they were evicted. Bulletin 38 used the same revitalization example as the 1985 draft, but implied that the place's function would have to have remained unchanged (Parker and King 1990:15-16). Revitalization that led to a reinterpretation of the function of the place, or the creation of a different function, would be suspect and likely ineligible for the National Register. One could argue that a revitalization that does not involve cultural change is not truly revitalization. Regardless, the stance of the National Register on this issue crystallized with Bulletin 38 and remains unchanged.

Tribes participating in the LAARNG inventory saw as ironic and insulting the fact that today the government asks them to identify important traditional places on a landscape they no longer recall, and, when they recognize places that are spiritually significant in this new terrain, then declares them ineligible for the National Register because of the 50-year and continuity criterion. That so many of the participants in this project overlooked or misinterpreted the distinction King draws suggests the guidelines may need clarification. After all, the tribal participants in the project were not neophytes to federal preservation law. Most of the individuals representing the tribal interests in this project are well-versed in the details of NHPA, its implementing guidelines (36 CFR 800), and the National Register regulations and guidelines. They have copious experience dealing with land managers, federal and state agencies, and Washington D.C. politics. Almost all of them represent either their own Tribal Historic Preservation Office or their own cultural resource management programs. They are well aware of subtleties in the language and interpretation of Bulletin 38 relative to other National Register guidance. Why, then, were the entwined issues of the age and continuity of "traditional" practice and belief so contentious and problematic?

I think one reason for the confusion is that by linking TCP significance so closely to the NHPA it has made it difficult to distinguish what must be 50 years old and ongoing – intangible beliefs – from the tangible places on the landscape – real properties with tangible boundaries – that may be newly discovered. Mistaking that the 50-year and continuity criterion applies to the use of a place where beliefs and practices are manifested, rather than to the significance attached to a place, is likely something that occurs relatively frequently in federal land management. For instance, the Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma have had some of their concerns

about TCPs outside of Oklahoma summarily dismissed by the United States Army Corps of Engineers on the grounds that the Caddo do not occupy or use the area in question and have not for many decades, hence cannot have a TCP there because of the 50-year and continuity criterion (Caddo Nation Historic Preservation Office, pers. comm., 9/15/04). Such situations shift the focus of eligibility assessment from belief and practice to contemporary real estate occupation vis-à-vis the 50-year and continuity rule. I submit that the problem may be that non-tribal land managers are preoccupied by old buildings and archaeological sites. Both of these are more readily understood and identified by land managers, especially those with only general training in the preservation field; furthermore, managers may have less trouble understanding how the 50-year rule applies to resources with a finite occupation date than to TCPs, a resource class whose National Register eligibility is partly judged by the age and continuity of the belief or practice.

Another explanation of the confusion goes back to issues raised in a well-published debate on a Chumash TCP (Haley and Wilcoxon 1997). As stated earlier, the guidelines and history of Native American law in the United States impose a static view of culture into the National Register eligibility assessment process, and, at some level, arguments over TCP authenticity are subtext for arguments over sovereignty, power, and epistemology. In light of the latter, some might argue that the criteria of concern here actually are exclusionary, in that they further mask the United States government's historical practice of disconnecting living Native Americans from their physical past (e.g., Nichols et al. 1999:28; Stoffle and Evans 1990).

## Tribal Registers of Places

The antiquated understanding of culture embedded in the United States' heritage resource legislation needs revising. In the short term, revisiting Bulletin 38 is probably in order. Regarding long-term policy shifts, remedying the National Register's shortcomings relative to TCPs may entail embracing an alter-nate approach to recognizing Native American TCPs. One option that has surfaced time and again is the notion of forming independent tribal registries of TCPs that can be integrated with the NHPA Section 106 review process. One of the earliest mentions of this can be found in the "gray literature" of federal compliance contract work. The Yakima of Washington, for instance, created their own "Register of Cultural Places" in 1984 and maintained it through the Yakima Indian Nation Cultural Center (Uebelacker 1984).

The idea of a tribal register continued to be discussed even after the 1992 amendment to the NHPA was enacted. In 1993, only one year after the TCP amendment was put in place at Section 101(d)(6), Parker clearly expressed her view that the National Register and Native American TCPs may not go well together. As she put it, the way the National Register "thinks" about the connection between places and the past, present, and future is "decidedly not an Native American way of thinking", and the linear chronology and cause/effect relationship that the National Register entails and uses to judge membership eligibility "simply are not applicable when dealing with many traditional cultural properties" (Parker 1993:4). Although she held out hope that Bulletin 38 could be integrated with Native American TCPs, when faced with the prospect that Bulletin 38 may be a rickety bridge between two fundamentally different world-views, Parker (1993:6) admitted that "several have suggested that traditional cultural properties be kept on a different register... and held to different standards of evidence", which "may be what needs to be done". A decade later Parker's Bulletin 38 co-author espoused the same position, but without any of the reservations Parker had in 1993, so soon after crafting the National Register bulletin. In his 2003 book, Places that Count, King (2003:159) pointed out that tribal sovereignty is an excellent reason not to nomi-nate places to the National Register. "Why not maintain their own inventory data," asks King sharply, "and then tell the U.S. government that it can bloody well regard all tribally registered places as eligible for the U.S. National Register and treat them accordingly under Section 106?"

In terms of practicalities, the responsibility of deciding if the property in question qualifies as a traditional place and is placed on the tribal registry then would fall on the tribes and whatever review system they implement. The latter, in some form, probably would entail review by cultural experts (e.g., elders or traditional practitioners), using whatever criteria they judge suitable. When federal projects occur that involve consultation with Native Americans, asking the tribes to consult their registry of TCPs would be akin to the routine process of checking the National Register, State Historic Preservation Office, or THPO to see if any historic properties are already present in the area of potential effect. It would be up to the tribe to choose to divulge the information. If the tribe chose to do so, they could provide any quantity of information to the federal agency that they wanted, including nothing more than the minimal data required for land management, such as property boundary lines with no explanation of their significance. The federal agency would have to agree to automatically treat those places as eligible for the National Register, with all due planning considerations.

## Conclusion

In the paragraphs above I outlined three problems that underpin the federal government's attempt to manage traditional cultural and religious properties in the United States:

1) the argument over whose TCPs require consideration during federal planning,

2) the paradox of making cultural outsiders the evaluators of resources whose significance is entirely the purview of the stakeholders

3) the applicability of the popular concepts of culture and change upon which the legal definitions rest. The argument and the paradox are relatively simple considerations.

Deciding whose TCPs should be the focus of a limited set of fiscal resources is primarily in the hands of each federal agency. An open-minded approach is entirely feasible given the language of the amendment and the obvious intent of the older guidelines for National Register considerations. The issue of making cultural outsiders the arbiters of legitimacy and authenticity is one that many today solve by working directly with traditional communities. Land managers seem to have had little difficulty in working around this bias towards outside academics, given that Bulletin 38 is a set of guidelines and that the manuscript's authors clearly state the importance of traditional practitioners in assessing integrity and other key National Register concerns.

The thorniest problem is the depiction of culture and change upon which Native American legislation – preservation and otherwise – is founded. To be "legitimate" contemporary tribal members' definitions of identity are required to be similar to and continuous with a static past, while self-identification in reality is predicated on the break in cultural continuity that comes from appropriating the past and using its elements to achieve the goals of the present (Geertz 1994). Such appropriation and reinterpretation are impossible for Native Americans if they wish to avail themselves of the benefits of National Register listing and federal planning consideration. Speaking candidly about the continual reinvention characteristic of ethnic identity formation would threaten the "primordialist" legal basis of their claims (Brown 1997:778). Given the legal milieu, rediscovering elements of a "lost" static culture becomes attractive to tribes for a multitude of social reasons, like pride and vindication, as well as practical reasons, like a place at the table during federal planning, receiving cultural resources consultation contracts, and earning gaming concession profits. In this sense the very language employed in United States law becomes a powerful – albeit at times subconscious – tool in

a contest for power and sovereignty as the United States at-tempts to naturalize a subaltern history as part of national patrimony, while the Native Americans attempt to use the system to their benefit.

## References

BROWN M. 1997. Comments: Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition, *Current Anthropology 38*, 777-778.

DEUR D. & MARK S. 2000. Traditional Land Use as Starting Point: Opening Cross-Cultural Dialogue at Crater Lake and Lava Beds, *Cultural Resource Management 23*, 16-17.

DOWNER A. & ROBERTS A. 1993. Traditional Cultural Properties, Cultural Resources Management and Environmental Planning, *Cultural Resource Management 16 (Special Issue)*, 13-15.
(Also available online at http://crm.cr.nps.gov/issue.cfm?volume=16&number=SI.)

GEERTZ A. 1994. *The Invention of Prophecy*, Berkeley.

HALEY B. 2004. Review of Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management, *Southeastern Archaeology 23*, 226-228.

HALEY B. & WILCOXON L. 1997. Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition, *Current Anthropology 38*, 761-777.

KELLEY K. 1997. Comments: Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition, *Current Anthropology 38*, 782-783.

KING T. 1998. *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice: An Introductory Guide*, Walnut Creek.

KING T. 2003. *Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management*, Walnut Creek.

KNIFFEN F., GREGORY H. & STOKES G. 1987. *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana: From 1542 to the Present*, Baton Rouge.

MORGAN D. 2005a. *Assessment of Properties of Traditional Religious and Cultural Importance to the Signatory Tribes of the Native American Historical Initiative: Reconnecting to the Lands of the Louisiana Army National Guard*, Report submitted to the Louisiana Division of Archaeology and the Louisiana Army National Guard, Camp Beauregard.

MORGAN D. 2005b. *Descendent Communities, Heritage Resource Law, and Heritage Areas: Strategies for Managing and Interpreting Native American*

*Traditional and Cultural Places*, Paper presented at the Preserving the World's Heritage Resources Workshop, hosted by the National Park Service Southeastern Archeological Center and Hamline University, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Cumberland Island, Georgia.

NICHOLS D., KLESERT A. & ANYON R. 1999. Ancestral Sites, Shrines, and Graves: Native American Perspectives on the Ethics of Collecting Cultural Properties, In: Messenger P. (ed), *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?, 2nd ed.*, Albuquerque, 27-38.

PARKER P. 1993. What You Do and How We Think. *Cultural Resource Management 16 (Special issue)*, 1-5.

PARKER P. & KING T. 1990. Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties, *National Register Bulletin 38*, Washington, D.C.

PERTULLA T. 1992. *"The Caddo Nation": Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Perspectives*, Austin.

REMINI R. 2001. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*, New York.

STOFFLE R. & EVANS 1990. American Indians and Nuclear Waste Storage: The Debate at Yucca Mountain, Nevada, *Policy Studies Journal 16*, 751-767.

UEBELACKER M. 1984. *Time Ball. A Story of the Yakima People and the Land: A Cultural Resource Overview*, Yakima.

WALLACE A. 1969. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, New York.